

013171

JPRS 82176

5 November 1982

19981209 108
801

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 357

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy



FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

14
97
A05

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 82176

5 November 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 357



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

5 November 1982

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 357

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Results of Recent Chinese Party Congress Assessed (Mariya Netsova; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, 17 Sep 82)	1
---	---

PARTY AND STATE

New Draft Constitution Said To Guarantee Democracy (Luo Shirun; FUJIAN RIBAO, 20 Aug 82)	4
Exclusion of Gang of Four Remnants From Leadership Emphasized (Zhang Shuzheng; RENMIN RIBAO, 24 Sep 82)	7
Division of Labor Within State Council Outlined (ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO, 10 Jul 82)	9
Article Extols Communism, Denounces Individualism (Hui Lin; HEBEI RIBAO, 5 Sep 82)	14
Zhengjiang Regional Leaders Strengthen Ideological, Political Work (Chen Hua, Li Hui, Yu Feng; XINHUA RIBAO, 29 Jul 82) ..	17
Harbin Grocery Branch Committee Urges Study of New Constitution (HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 10 Sep 82)	20
Symposium on Draft of Revised Constitution Held (Zheng Ping; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Aug 82)	22
Mao's Mass Line on Evaluating Cadres Discussed (Yang Yuyin; SHANXI RIBAO, 3 Sep 82)	24

Study, Promotion of 12th Party Congress Documents Urged (HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 82)	26
Shandong Cadres Guide Study of 12th CPC National Congress Documents (DAZHONG RIBAO, 4 Sep 82)	28
Class Character, Social Character of Law Discussed (Sun Guohua, Zhu Jingwen; FAXUE YANJIU, 23 Aug 82)	31
Brigade Branch Secretary Urges Struggle To Achieve New Production Goals (Jiang Baoxun; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 10 Sep 82)	38
Communist Ideals, Cause Promoted (Yang Shiliang; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 11 Sep 82).....	40
Inculcating Masses With Socialist Ideology Stressed (You Gan; XINHUA RIBAO, 27 Jul 82)	43
Spirit of Communist Party Mambers Praised (Xie Xianwen; FUJIAN RIBAO, 14 Aug 82)	46
Fuzhou Party Members Lauded for Their Integrity (Li Yuchang; FUJIAN RIBAO, 16 Aug 82)	48
Importance of Strong Base for Party Ideology Stressed (Wang Lianbin; FUJIAN RIBAO, 20 Aug 82)	50
Need To Build Leading Bodies of Competent Cadres Emphasized (Wang Yu; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 17 Aug 82)	52
Achievements in Revolution, Construction Reviewed (Chen Shijun; HEILONGJIANG RIBAO, 17 Sep 82)	54
Fujian Research Symposium on Zheng Chenggong Summarized (Kong Dongwei, Zhang Ping; XIAMEN DAXUE XUEBAO, No 3, 1982)	56
Briefs	
Guizhou CPPCC Standing Committee	59
SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE	
Xinjiang Leaders at CYL Congress End Ceremony (Xinjiang Regional Service, 12 Oct 82)	60
Wang Renzhong's Speech to Literary Circles (Wang Renzhong; WENYI BAO, 7 Sep 82)	62

'GUANGMING RIBAO' Interviews Writer Wang Meng (Jin Tao; GUANGMING RIBAO, 1 Oct 82)	73
'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (Fang Zhiguang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 27 Sep 82)	76
Historical Activities of Minority Nationalities Reexamined (Chen Wutong; GUANGMING RIBAO, 5 Jul 82)	83
Briefs	
Man Nationality Troupe	89
Corban Festivities	89
Gansu Cleanup Campaign	89
Shaanxi Conscription Work	90
National Day Activities	90
Corban in Urumqi	90
Sports Meet	91

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

RESULTS OF RECENT CHINESE PARTY CONGRESS ASSESSED

Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 17 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Mariya Netsova" "China Today, and Now on 'the Special Chinese Way' Again"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] The 12th Chinese Communist Party Congress has a special place in the country's modern history. Convoked 6 years after Mao's death, it was supposed to evaluate the period marked by the physical and, above all, domineering presence of "the great helmsman," lay down the basic directions to be taken in China's domestic and foreign policy in the near and longer term, ratify the changes that had been prepared in the party's organizational structures, and refill the positions at the top of the party hierarchy.

Approval of Deng Xiaoping's Pragmatic Line

The evaluation of the Maoist legacy, and especially of the so-called "cultural revolution," which did irreparable damage to Chinese sociopolitical life, which marred hundreds of human destinies and which, by official admissions, turned into "a national catastrophe," was urgent and necessary. The failure of the economic policy, and especially of "the great leap" and of "people's communes," as well as the conception of "a continuation of the revolution with the dictatorship of the proletariat," which serves as an ideological basis to justify mass repression and innumerable Maoist campaigns, are at variance with the present orientations of the pragmatic crew that is establishing itself in power.

/All these questions, phenomena and events found a place in the report of the chairman of the CCP Central Committee, Hu Yaobang, and were characterized as "leftist errors" committed by Mao Zedong, especially during the last years of his life, which left unusually deep wounds on the party and people and caused serious damage to the entire life of the country. At the same time, Hu Yaobang assessed as "critical" the years since the 11th CCP Congress, which are associated with the routing of Jiang Qing's counterrevolutionary group in 1976 and especially with the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in December 1978, when, as is known, Deng Xiaoping's line was adopted in CCP domestic and international policy./

After numerous and cruel purges at all levels of the party, state and administrative hierarchy, during the course of which the adherents of the so-called gang of four--key personnel who rose during the "cultural" revolution--were eliminated one by one and, above all, after they were rendered harmless in the Political Bureau and State Council (the government), the 12th CCP Congress actually registered the final victory over the "leftist" fraction and its adherents. The former Mao successor, Hua Guofeng, was hard hit by the reverberation of these struggles for the third time in a row. Eliminated consecutively from three key posts in the party, government and army, he now has been dropped also from membership in the Political Bureau, to remain a member only of the newly elected Central Committee.

Ideological Party Platform

Despite the admissions of Mao's "leftist" errors and criticism of his authoritarian style of political leadership, the 12th Congress confirmed and included in the policy section of the new statutes the already familiar plank that the theoretical foundation of the CCP is Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's ideas. This plank was adopted at the Sixth Central Committee Plenum last year and amends the previous (1977) statutes, which endorsed Mao's ideas as allowing of no appeal and represented their author as "the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time." And this means that the Chinese leadership does not want to break with the Maoist legacy and will continue to make selective use of the eclectic verbiage of their ideologue leader in keeping with the requirements of the present political moment. It is not amiss to recall that the ideological and political platform of "the great helmsman"--so-called Sinicized Marxism, which is now called "the scientific system of Mao's ideas," justifies "China's exclusiveness" and "the special Chinese way," rejecting the experience of the socialist countries and the general objective laws governing socialism.

Modernization of the Economy

One of the basic tasks set by the 12th CCP Congress and incorporated not only in Deng Xiaoping's opening address but also in the report is that "of creating a new situation on all fronts of socialist modernization and, above all, in the area of the economy." More specifically, by the end of the century China will strive to quadruple its industrial and agricultural output and increase per capita income in almost the same proportion (from the present \$250 annually to \$1000 to \$2000 annually). The impression created is that in their striving to overcome the crisis status of the economy, disrupted by Maoist experiments (by the admission of the Chinese themselves, industry lags 20 years behind the world level, and agriculture half a century), the present party and administrative leadership has abandoned some voluntarist methods of the past and has, to a great degree, restored the role of economic incentives, which formerly were declared to be bourgeois and revisionist deviations. Ways of developing the economy are sought in the already familiar model of Deng Xiaoping and Chairman of the State Council Zhao Ziyang of combining "the socialist economy with the regulative force of the marketplace economy," as well as by opening China's doors wide to the West.

/The goals and indicators thus laid down for the future were met with restrained optimism not only in China itself, but also abroad, all the more so because the present state of the Chinese economy provides no grounds for sensation. Only a few months ago one of the two remaining deputy chairmen of the PRC State Council, Wan Li, declared to journalists that such a goal was not feasible, the newspaper MONDE looked for "rhetorical effect" in it, and American experts foresaw that weaknesses in the area of power supply would cause a 3- to 5-percent decline in industrial output by 1985. To this add only that, according to the official announcement of the PRC State Statistical Administration for 1981, the rate of growth of gross product and national income last year was half that of the previous year and the production of machine-building output had fallen "almost to the borderline."/

Replacements at the Top

Replacements at the top of the Chinese political pyramid are awaited with great interest--the election of the Central Committee, Political Bureau and Secretariat, as well as an innovation of the congress--the creation for the first time of a Central Consultative Council or a kind of council of elders. It is to consist of old and honored key party personnel, as well as wavering, protesting and dissatisfied veterans who do not accept the present pragmatic course or who simply do not want to go into the rear-guard.

/The first conclusion which can be drawn not only from the personnel decisions but also from the structural changes is that Deng Xiaoping's crew has come out strengthened, with reinforced positions in all key party elements. The congress eliminated the post of party chairman in favor of the secretary general and to that reelected Hu Yaobang, one of Deng Xiaoping's closest followers. Outstanding in the foreground of the new Central Committee Secretariat, which will manage current party business and possess many wider powers, is the Hu Yaobang-Zhao Ziyang tandem, and according to the first estimates at least half of the significantly rejuvenated and vitalized Central Committee consists of adherents of the so-called pragmatic line./

It is an impressive fact that appeals for an infusion of young blood in the party leadership left the Political Bureau almost unaffected, while the six reelected previous members of its Standing Committee, who meet all requirements (40-year party membership and advanced average age of 75 years) have offered "quiet opposition" to Deng and have refused to join the Central Consultative Council headed up by him.

/It is no accident that the 12th CPC Congress is comparable in its importance with the Seventh, held in 1945, which ratified Mao's authority after long internal dissension and a widespread and fierce "movement for the rectification of style" with the almost negative name of zheng feng [rectification]. Without anticipating the excesses of that period, the present congress again declared the beginning of a new campaign "for the rectification of style," which will start this year. And this will put to the test the new secretary general's expressed "80-percent certainty" that China will live in a very stable political setting by the end of the century. . . /

PARTY AND STATE

NEW DRAFT CONSTITUTION SAID TO GUARANTEE DEMOCRACY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 3

Article by Luo Shirun [5012 2514 338]: "Study the New Draft Constitution: Democracy Is Guaranteed to Remain Invincible"

Text In 1946 Huang Yenpei visited Yanan to meet with comrade Mao Zedong. When speaking of the rise and fall of past dynasties he said that of the rulers in history, those who rose suddenly also perished suddenly, that in the past few people were able to escape from the control of that cyclical rule. Comrade Mao Zedong replied, "Our Communist Party members have already found a new path. We can escape from that cyclical rule. That new path is democracy. Only if the people are allowed to exercise control will government dare not relax; only if all the people arise to assume responsibility can the situation of the people perishing and the government multiplying be avoided.

Does democracy have such great strength?

Just as the name implies, democracy means the people being the masters of their own house. First, it indicates that basic governing system of a nation. Our form of government is a people's democratic dictatorship state in which the working class leads and the worker-peasant alliance serves as the foundation. Our form of government is implementing the collective democracy of the people's congress system. Slave states and feudal states are not democratic. The democratic states is at best democracy that is employed fully only by propertied millionaires. As regards the common people, it is only a kind of hoax. In essence, socialist democracy is democracy of the absolute majority. Its most important characteristic is all the people exercising their right to manage the nation on the basis of polling their means of production and right to govern. The second content of democracy is protecting the citizens' best democratic rights. The third is democratic ideology, a democratic work style, and democratic habits. That is even more important with regard to leaders.

"Not stressing the building of a highly democratic socialist democratic political system is a bitter lesson of the 'Cultural Revolution.'" That is a saying that arose after our young People's Republic's experience in encountering calculating careerists.

"Without democratization there can be no modernization." This is a saying of knowledgeable persons with a broad and long-term outlook during the time when the focus of our party's work is changing.

"Without democracy there can be no centralization, dictatorship, or legal system." That is an incisive saying regarding the mutual dialectical relationship.

Although democratic ideology and democratic work style are listed No 3, with regard to the cadres now controlling political power No 3 does not exist, not to mention No 1 or No 2.

Our state's basic political system is a unified people's congress system based on the summarized experience of the Paris Commune. But there are several leadership cadres whose understanding in that regard is insufficient and who are not adept in applying that system to mobilize the broad popular masses to be the masters of their own house and the positiveness of socialist construction. If there is a locality in which the annual people's congress is held only with the urging of the upper echelon, and they are frequently held in form only. Such cadres only know how to hold a few cadre conferences to assign tasks, but do not understand how to utilize people's congresses and their standing committees to consider plans, and assign, examine, and recapitulate tasks. All types of overstaffed administrative departments have more people than work, but the standing committees' staffs are too small. There are many standing committee members who are members in name only and are incapable of carrying out day-to-day investigation, study, and inspection, administrative supervision, and judiciary work, and thus are unable to fully bring into play the role of people's congresses and their standing committees in serving as the organs of authority at each echelon. Therefore, such cadres are often unable to effectively guarantee the rights of citizens. Sluggishness in handling affairs, mutually recrimination, not bringing to justice violations of citizens' legitimate rights and interests, not rectifying misjudged cases, apathy toward appeals by the popular masses, and other bureaucratic phenomena are not uncommon in our administrative and judicial organs.

Therefore, the new draft constitution, in order to perfect our state's fundamental political system, made a number of new stipulations. In addition to further emphasizing the central concepts of all power belonging to the people and the people having the right to manage the state and to manage economic and cultural affairs, manifested principally in strengthening the people's congresses and their standing committees at all levels, it broadens the powers of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and as far as possible frees the members of standing committees at all levels from their full-time jobs so that they can have ample time to keep in touch with their constituents and with the masses, and with regard to the work of administrative and judicial organs, handle every-day investigations, supervision, and inquiries. By strengthening the standing committees it strengthens the everyday work of the standing committees and strengthens the people's congresses. In addition, it opens up a new way of direct management by the people of state

affairs. For example, the staff and workers of enterprises may, via staff-worker congresses and other forms, participate in enterprise management; peasants and residents of cities and towns may exercise self-rule by means of village committees and neighborhood committees. All of those things enrich and develop the contents and forms of socialist democracy. With regard to the basic rights and obligations of citizens, the new draft constitution, summarizing the actual experiences of a period of more than 20 years, especially the historical lessons of the "Cultural Revolution," adds many new contents, and takes a step forward in broadening the rights of citizens. Furthermore, there are additional practical guarantees for those rights.

As pointed out in the "Resolution on Certain Problems in the Party's History Since the Founding of the Nation," "It is necessary to, on the basis of the principles of democratic centralism, strengthen the building of state organs at each echelon, transform the people's congresses and their permanent bodies at each echelon into authoritative people's organs of authority and, in the basic governmental administrations and in basic-level social activities, gradually implement direct democracy by the people. It is especially important to emphasize efforts to develop democratic management of enterprise affairs by the working masses of urban and rural enterprises. The new draft constitution is a form which uses fundamental law and systematizes and legalizes such requirements.

It may be anticipated that by earnestly implementing the stipulations of the new draft constitution, we will be able to closely unite the nation's people, mobilize the positiveness of hundreds of millions of people, enable our socialist cause to flourish and, within a not-too-long period develop our nation into a highly democratic, highly civilized, modern socialist power.

5616

CSO: 4005/1321

PARTY AND STATE

EXCLUSION OF GANG OF FOUR REMNANTS FROM LEADERSHIP EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 24 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Zhang Shuzheng [1728 2579 2398]: "Talk Begins With 'Submerged Reefs'"]

[Text] Reefs are "crazy rocks whose steep parts appear like swords." Navigators call them "obstacles" when they appear in rivers or seas, blocking the waterways. Submerged reefs in the waters pose even greater danger to shipping because they are more difficult to detect.

Are there any "reefs" in the waterways plied by the huge ship of our socialist modernization? Yes. A case in point is the political sabotage of the election of the Weixian County party congress in Hebei. Not long ago, when the county party congress was in session, some people gave drinking parties, delivered letters of blackmail, and displayed unsigned big-character posters raising false charges against the newly elected leading comrades on the county party committee and threatening to "rehabilitate" the former dismissed secretary of the county party committee, thus casting a pall over the election work. Although such unlawful activities are merely individual cases, they deserve our close attention. Among the culprits of these unlawful activities were self-styled rebels, persons obsessed with factionalism, vandals and robbers, opponents of the political line adopted by the Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and serious violators of laws and discipline. Unreconciled to their loss of power and influence since the smashing of the "gang of four," they resent being investigated on charges of exploiting power for selfish purposes. Lusting for profits, and obdurately refusing to admit mistakes, they have worked hand in glove in an attempt to stage a political comeback. They are "submerged reefs" in the waterways plied by the huge ship of socialist modernization.

"We must remember that peaceful life is still fraught with dangers, our existence is still under the threat of subjugation, and order still can give way to disorder." Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and especially since the 12th party congress, our country has become more united and more stable than ever, with various undertakings gaining momentum with each passing day. "Unfolding before our eyes are lively transformations and an acute competition between the work of nature and human ingenuity." Leading bodies at all levels have been consolidated through the holding of party congresses, and people's congresses in which democratic elections have taken place and through the application of other measures. Hundreds upon

hundreds of outstanding middle-aged and younger cadres have been selected and promoted, and old cadres have been gradually replaced by younger cadres in a spirit of cooperation. This will provide an important guarantee for the party and state to achieve a long-term political stability, and represents an effective step in broadening the prospect for the development of the socialist modernization program. But we still have to guard against the "submerged reefs" during our march forward. In the course of selecting and promoting a large number of middle-aged and younger cadres and consolidating leading bodies at all levels, we should be on the alert to discern those self-styled rebels, persons obsessed with factionalism, vandals, robbers, opponents of the political line adopted by the Central Committee since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and serious violators of laws and discipline so that none of them will be able to enter leading bodies. Those still in leading positions can be resolutely dismissed from office, and punishment can be meted out to others found guilty of violating laws.

In an important speech to the 12th party congress, Comrade Chen Yun warned us: "If these three categories of people are allowed to enter leading bodies, they will jump at any opportunity to stir up trouble, bringing disaster to the people and the country again a few years from now when the climate is suitable and when the party is hit by another storm." This statement deserves our thoughtful consideration.

9574

CSO: 4005/20

PARTY AND STATE

DIVISION OF LABOR WITHIN STATE COUNCIL OUTLINED

Beijing ZHONGHUA RENMIN GONGHEGUO GUOWUYUAN GONGBAO in Chinese No 10, 10 Jul 82
pp 447-450

[Article: "Bulletin from the State Council Concerning the Division of Labor Between the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission and the State Scientific and Technological Commission," 5 May 1982"]

[Text] Recently, the Standing Committee of the State Council discussed and fixed the division of labor between the State Planning Commission, the State Economic Commission, and the State Scientific and Technological Commission, as follows:

I. Concerning the Division of Labor Between the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission

A. The State Planning Commission is responsible for the formulation of medium and long range plans and annual plans for national economic and social development, and the State Economic Commission is responsible for organizing the coordination and implementation of annual plans. The State Economic Commission will participate in formulating plans and achieving overall balance. The State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission will oversee and inspect the implementation of the plans together.

B. The annual plan should provide for a certain reserve (such as funds, resources, foreign exchange for the year) so that in organizing the implementation the State Economic Commission can make the necessary adjustments. If in the course of implementation it is necessary to readjust a local or key enterprise plan, the State Economic Commission and the State Planning Commission will study and resolve the issue together, in the event of an important readjustment of a national norm, the two commissions will study the matter and report it to the State Council for a decision.

C. The State Supplies Bureau is the department of the State Council for unified management of supplies work and operates on behalf of the State Council. The State Supplies Bureau formulates plans for balanced allocation of goods and materials in accordance with the demands of the State Planning Commission and is responsible to the State Planning Commission; in the supply and control of goods and materials, it is responsible to the State Economic Commission. The

Orders Committee in which the State Economic Commission participate is organized by the State Supplies Bureau.

D. Key scientific and technological projects and scientific and technological development plans are the responsibility mainly of the State Planning Commission, may be formulated with the State Scientific and Technological Commission and the State Economic Commission and are implemented separately by the State Economic Commission and State Scientific and Technological Commission. Plans for applications of Scientific and technological results are formulated mainly by the State Economic Commission and after overall balancing by the State Planning Commission become part of the State Economic Plan.

E. Planning for technological reform and equipment renewal (including the bank loan portions) are mainly the responsibility of the planning committees at various levels and may be formulated in concert with the economic committees at various levels, then are unified with capital construction plans and made part of the fixed assets investment plans.

Plans for technological reform and equipment renewal in local areas and departments are approved by the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission.

In capital construction, the State Planning Commission is responsible for determining the scale of construction, the use of investment and large and medium-sized construction, is responsible for proof of large and medium sized construction, approves the balance between related projects, feasibility studies and design plan documents, is responsible for organizing the formulation of resource exploration plans, regional plans, river basin plans, highway network plans, and agricultural economic divisions. The State Economic Commission is responsible for organizing and approving design, construction and construction management, allocation of construction supplies, and for organizing production equipment, checking and acceptance on completion and standards and legislation for capital construction.

F. National defense industry and national defense scientific and technological plans are formulated by the State Planning Commission with the National Defense Scientific and Technological Commission and the State Economic Commission. Readjustment, reorganization, and reform work in the machine industry is the responsibility of the State Economic Commission.

G. Planning for the balance of international income and expenditure is the responsibility of the State Planning Commission. Planning for the use of foreign resources, imported technology, and equipment is mainly the responsibility of the State Planning Commission which can work out plans and check and verify with the State Economic Commission and relevant departments. The above norm projects among them are the responsibility of the State Planning Commission which organizes the relevant proofs in concert with the economic commission and the scientific commission and which are approved by the State Planning Commission; within the norms set by the plan, below norm projects will be examined and approved by the relevant departments and the planning committees of provinces, cities, and autonomous regions in concert with the economic

committees, then reported to the State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission to prevent reckless and redundant projects. The absorption and extension of imported technology is to be organized by the State Economic Commission and implemented by the relevant departments.

H. The State Planning Commission and the State Economic Commission will research, coordinate, and resolve important economic policy questions and report to the State Council for the record or for ratification.

I. In day-to-day work, the two commissions should strengthen ties, cooperate closely, work in coordination and establish a system of regular combined operations.

II. Division of Labor Between the State Planning Commission, State Economic Commission and the State Scientific and Technological Commission in Science and Technology Work

A. Formulating Science and Technology plans and key projects.

1. Science and technology plans (including medium-, long-range and annual plans) and key projects are to be mainly the responsibility of the State Planning Commission, in concert with the scientific and technological committees and economic committees at various levels, and are to become part of national, departmental and provincial, municipal, and autonomous region economic and social development plans so that scientific and technological development and economic and social development will be closely combined.

2. When setting scientific and technological plans and key projects, expenses, investment, resources should be determined and incorporated into national and departmental and provincial, municipal, and autonomous region financial, capital construction and resources plans in line with the economic system and channels.

3. One responsible comrade from the State Scientific and Technological Commission will serve as deputy chair of the State Planning Commission.

4. To coordinate scientific and technological planning, the State Scientific and Technological Commission will organize forces from various areas, actively stress forecasting and consultation on scientific and technological development, investigate and study the world and Chinese situation in science and technology and propose the scientific and technological direction and areas for priority development and key projects. Expenses necessary to carry out the above tasks will be controlled and dispersed by the State Scientific and Technological Commission.

B. Implementing Scientific and Technological Plans and Projects

1. The State Scientific and Technological Commission will organize the implementation and oversight of developmental, long-range, and new technology projects in the state's science and technology plan and key projects; the State Economic Commission will organize the implementation and oversight of science

and technology projects which are short-range and serve current economic construction.

2. Necessary expenses, investment, and resources for state science and technology plans and state key projects will be managed by the State Economic Commission, and the State Scientific and Technological Commission according to the economic system and channels as the work progresses.

3. To concentrate use of necessary financial and material forces to carry out key science and technology work, we should reform existing allocation and management of the three science and technology expenses (intermediate experimentation, trial production of new products, and subsidies to important scientific research projects). In addition to the 300 million yuan already allocated to local areas and already calculated as part of the financial base, most expenses should be allocated by project and should continue through the contract system.

4. When readjustment is necessary in carrying out the state science and technology plan and key projects, the department, local area, or unit responsible shall propose it, and the readjustment, revision, and supplementing will be carried out by the State Economic Commission and State Scientific and Technological Commission according to plan management procedures.

C. Appraisal and Extension of Trial Production of New Products and Scientific and Technological Results.

1. The State Scientific and Technological Commission will organize the relevant areas to verify, evaluate, and appraise particularly important new products and scientific and technological results designated by the state or the results of controversial important scientific and technological projects.

2. The State Economic Commission will organize sections in charge to be responsible for carrying out the appraisal, extension, and awards for trial production of new products and the scientific and technological results of new technological research and experimentation and production construction.

3. Plans for extension and application of scientific and technological results will be formulated mainly by the State Economic Commission in concert with the State Scientific and Technological Commission, and after overall balancing by the State Planning Commission they will become part of the state economic plan. Necessary expenses, resources, and measures will become part of department and local area plans in accordance with economic system and channels; the state will provide special subsidies for the extension of important scientific and technological results.

4. The State Economic Commission will be in charge of organizing relevant departments and local areas to implement plans for extending and applying scientific and technological results.

D. Readjustment of Scientific Research Agencies and Approval of New Scientific Research Agencies

1. To arrange rationally the distribution of scientific research agencies and strictly control the addition of new scientific research agencies, independent scientific research agencies established by departments of the State Council and provinces, cities, and autonomous regions, should have the approval of the State Scientific and Technological Commission in concert with the State Economic Commission and relevant departments and committees, and particularly important ones should have the approval of the State Council.
2. Readjustment and reorganization of existing scientific research agencies will be under the unified organization of the State Scientific and Technological Commission in concert with the State Economic Commission and relevant departments.

E. In their day-to-day work, the three commission should strengthen ties, cooperate closely, work in coordination and consult regularly.

8226
CSO: 4005/1

PARTY AND STATE

ARTICLE EXTOLS COMMUNISM, DENOUNCES INDIVIDUALISM

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Hui Lin [6540 2651]: "'Grand Objective' and 'Five Selfish Interests'"]

[Text] The 12th party congress is progressing triumphantly. In outlining the great plan calling on people to go all out to blaze a new path for the development of socialist modernization, the party Central Committee has painted for us a grandiose picture of socialist modernization. This congress is being held after our party fulfilled another great historic transformation. While recalling the past and looking to the future, every cadre, every party and CYL member, and every politically conscious citizen is in a jubilant mood, vowing to work hard as a contribution to the endeavor to build our country into a modern socialist power with high levels of civilization and democracy.

But some people are keenly interested only in the "struggle" for "five selfish interests." The term "five selfish interests" here does not refer to the "five positions which could be obtained through imperial civil service examinations" of the old days but "five points of interest" frequently heard and mentioned in daily life; namely, wives, children, housing, money and positions. After establishing a family, everyone will bear and raise children and will need food, clothing, housing and transportation. Originally, this could be called a normal life; there was nothing controversial about it. But it is an entirely different matter, if everyone views the "five points of interest" as a matter of prime importance in life. If they become the only thing that matters and disturbs sleep, or the most desirable thing to be obtained at any price, a goal to be achieved by hook or crook or by other illegal means. At present, the "five points of interest" have become a problem, a root cause of the party's unhealthy work style, and of an unhealthy trend characteristic of "five evils."

The following examples are numerous and can be seen everywhere:

Some people have taken advantage of their official positions or authority and have tried by all means at their disposal to get "good jobs" for their wives and children--jobs that are not only light, easy and clean but also lucrative. In assigning housing units, some people in charge of this work have flaunted the banner of "democratic discussion" to cover up their double-dealing tactics

that serve their selfish interests. Their principle of distribution calls for assigning first priority to themselves, second priority to their own children, third priority to their relatives and friends, and fourth and last priority to the masses.

Always thinking that the "party is indebted to them," some people have openly demanded promotion by their organizations; when their demand is not met, they respond with a noncooperative attitude.

Examples of this kind are too numerous to mention here. I always believe that these people lack a "responsive chord" in their mentality, a "chord" which will enable them to get a clear understanding of the current situation.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has scored great success in fulfilling the rectification of its guiding ideology. By now, it is going all out to blaze a new path for the development of socialist modernization. However, those who are dedicated to the struggle for "five selfish interests" seem unaware of this excellent situation and the splendid future that is in store for us. What they see is only a small world that appears beneath their noses.

The train of our time is constantly on the move. As revolutionaries, we must promise to catch up with it. Otherwise, we will lag behind the train of our time.

I also believe that in their mental state, these people appear overwhelmed by individualism and losing interest in communism. This change in their mental state has produced an ideological problem.

In life, one must have ideals, and an objective to be fulfilled, which serves as the pillar of mental health. In other words, one must have communist ideals. Only by bearing this grand objective in mind can we live a more meaningful life, aim high, look afar, and generate inexhaustible energy. When Comrade Wang Ruofei was in the enemy's prison, predicting that he was going to be executed, he asked someone to deliver a letter to his wife Li Peizhi [2621 1014 0031], saying: "Please forget me. No tears are necessary for my sacrifice. Instead, you must concentrate your energy on fighting another battle, and you must continue your efforts until the party's cause succeeds. I must say good-bye now. It was the Red flag that brought us together. It is also the Red flag that compels us to part company. Although fighters have fallen under this Red flag, this revolutionary Red flag will never fall. It will follow the trail of blood shed by fighters and fly over all the country. We hail this our victory." Revolutionary martyr Zhao Yunxiao of Fuping County, Hebei Province, gave birth to a child when she was in the enemy's prison. Before being executed, she left a letter to her son, saying: "I tell you honestly that your parents are communists. I hope that you will study diligently when you grow up. Only in this way can you live up to the expectations of your parents." During the misery of wartime, what did our revolutionary martyrs have in mind? What mattered most to them was their revolutionary interests. What was foremost in their minds was the realization of communism. They shed the last drop of their blood for the sake of their ideals, and used it to glorify the revolutionary Red flag. What an imposing image they left behind! What a lofty

aspiration they wanted to fulfill! What a great sense of human dignity they conveyed to us! Today, ignoring the fact that the revolutionary victory was won at the cost of the lives of our revolutionary martyrs and the revolutionary path was paved at the cost of their blood, some people in our midst are concerned only about their small world, and care only about their "five private interests." Some even want to make profits at other people's expense, and enjoy life with unearned income. In contrast to the revolutionary martyrs, they are really disgusting creatures without any sense of shame.

A stanza from Mayakovsky's poem says: "In the course of carrying out work, you must link every trivial event with your fixed far-reaching goal." This is true. Outstanding volleyball player Lang Ping [6745 1627] said: "In the past, I viewed the communist ideals in abstract terms, and as something seemingly too remote to be reached. Today, I feel that this crusade is near and dear to me. We must proceed with this crusade in what we do daily, and must fight for our lofty ideals." Lang Ping is right. We must fight for the great communist cause. We must continue to do so.

9574
CSO: 4005/20

PARTY AND STATE

ZHENGJIANG REGIONAL LEADERS STRENGTHEN IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL WORK

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 82 p 1

[Article by Chen Hua [7115 5478], Li Hui [2621 6540] and Yu Feng [5713 1496]: "In Order To Enhance the Ideological and Political Work in Zhengjiang Region, Leaders Feel That They Must First Be Able To Solve the Problem of Self-Recognition With Regard to Ideology"]

[Text] How can ideological and political work be strengthened? The leaders of Zhenjiang prefecture and county levels believe that they must first solve the problem of their own ideological understanding.

Since this year, the leaders at all levels in Zhenjiang prefecture, have done a lot of work on ideological and political work with fairly good results. However, due to the corruption of the rotten ideology of the bourgeoisie, a few of the cadres and the masses have a somewhat lesser sense of country, sense of the overall situation, and of our plans. Their tendency toward the development of egoism and "looking for money" are prevalent; and old habits and old consciousness such as feudalistic superstitions, male chauvinism, gambling, and parading one's wealth are on the rise. These circumstances illustrate that ideological and political work is still rather frail. Particularly there is widespread existence of this phenomenon in varying degrees where some of the leaders do not attach importance to ideological and political work, do not know how and do not dare to conduct ideological and political work. The leadership of the prefecture and county levels in Zhenjiang underwent conscientious study of appropriate documents of the Central Committee, looked back on the decades of valuable experience of our party in ideological and political work, related to the new situations and new problems which occur under the new historical conditions, and reached the understanding that to strengthen ideological and political work, the leaders must first solve the few problems as follows:

1. The leading cadre, must attach importance to studying the basic theories of Marxism. This is the basis of accomplishing ideological and political work. Only by grasping the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism, and by earnestly grasping the ideological realities of the cadres and the masses can the scientific and directional nature of ideological and political work be enhanced. The leading comrades of Jintan and Danyang counties believe that if the theoretical basis is shallow, it will be difficult to draw a clear line of distinction, then it is impossible to successfully accomplish ideological and political work. They stated that: There are a lot of problems now which must

be prevented from becoming onesided. For example, we may stop using the slogan "take class struggle as the key link," but cannot abandon the struggle against the corruption of capitalistic ideology. We may stress using economic methods to manage the economy, but we cannot deny the leading position of ideological and political work. We must truly draw a clear dividing line, which is difficult to draw without guidance of basic theory. So to strengthen ideological and political work, the first problem is to raise the Marxist theoretical level of all leaders. Since Marxism is the guiding ideology of our party, the study and grasping of this guiding ideology is the basis for establishing faith in communism, and raising the level of ideological and political work, maintaining consistency from a political standpoint and with the party's Central Committee.

2. The problem of recognizing the importance of ideological and political work must be solved. After changes in work emphasis is brought about, some comrades do not recognize clearly the status and function of ideological and political work; nor do they understand the purpose of it. Ideological and political work often stops at sporadic talk of its importance and arrangement of a few meetings, hence, it lacks actual actions and specific examinations; it stops at being treated as a rush job and cannot be treated as a regular routine; it stops at talk in generalities without permeating into every specific item of work. In light of the above situation, many comrades feel deeply that to strengthen ideological and political work, the leadership at all levels must make clear under new historical conditions, the importance of ideological and political work, and must make clear the mission and purpose of ideological and political work, closely centered around the construction for the Four Modernizations, relating to new situations, new problems, and strengthen ideological and political work. We cannot treat the content of a political education parochially and just provide enough for being at work or maintaining production plans, but must be adept at relating the vital interests of the masses, and carrying out education on patriotism, collectivism, and communism.

3. We must have the spirit to dare to speak out. Comrades in charge of the county committee in Gaochun say that the premise of strengthening ideological and political work lies in daring or not daring to adhere to revolutionary principles and have a clear cut stand on executing criminals. We must have the spirit of "daring to step out when meeting contradictions, and daring to speak out in the face of right and wrong." We can't be afraid of hurting somebody's feelings, and be afraid of offending someone. The comrades of the prefecture economic committee say that to strengthen the leadership on ideological and political work, we must overcome an existing situation where a lot of cadres play it safe and don't distinguish right and wrong, don't speak of principles, don't dare to stand up to evil doers and evil deeds and evil winds and evil practices and start criticism and struggle against them all. The comrades in charge in Zhenjiang municipality believe that the problem of not knowing how to do ideological and political work is still relatively easy to solve. The fear is that the party spirit of Communist Party members is lost and because one is afraid of irritating someone, he does not dare to do ideological and political work. Overcoming this word "fear," and persisting in the party spirit is the key to the ideological and political work for strengthening the party. The comrades in charge of the prefecture committee believe that party organizations at all levels must persist in support of the ideological fronts

of socialism and communism, and must justifiably, boldly and assured, handle ideology and conduct which is erroneous or detrimental to socialism, especially prominent problems within the party and the ranks of the cadres.

4. Must establish ideology by actions rather than mere words. Many comrades grasped the question of why there is weakness in ideological and political work, and consolidated experiences and training. They believed that one of the main reasons is that many leaders are divorced from the masses and that what they say and what they do are different. They more times than not consider themselves as "educators." They don't look at themselves in a mirror, but shine a flashlight on others. Therefore, to strengthen ideological and political work, the first thing that is necessary is to stress to the leading cadres to be upright themselves before requiring others to be so. They must combine words with actions, study (the criterion), observe discipline and abide by the law, and use their own exemplary conduct to influence others.

These opinions were presented by comrades at a meeting convened by the Zhenjiang prefecture committee on ideological and political work. The cadres in charge at the prefecture and county levels conscientiously studied pertinent documents of the Central Committee, exchanged experiences, and deliberated on such questions aimed at how to strengthen ideological and political work.

9660
CSO: 4005/1271

PARTY AND STATE

HARBIN GROCERY BRANCH COMMITTEE URGES STUDY OF NEW CONSTITUTION

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 4

[Report by the General Party Branch Committee of the No 1 Grocery in Harbin:
"Study the New Party Constitution, Do a Good Job of Educating Party Members"]

[Text] In recent years, as our activities have expanded, we have also continually added new party blood to our store. Of the 39 party members in the store, 32 are new party members. They are all mainstays full of fighting spirit serving in the first line of battle. After the 12th Party Congress passed the new constitution, we immediately convened a party member forum to study and discuss it, particularly saw to it that new party members would learn a great deal in their study and that they would gain confidence in struggling for the great goal of communism.

Our store handles foodstuffs. Presently, the market has ample supplies of most goods, but there are shortages of a small number of items. During our study and discussion, many young party members began to sense their own lack of social and work experience and wanted to study the new constitution thoroughly and to make strict demands of themselves based on the great goals of communism without thought of personal gain and privilege. They made it clear that in the future they would continually raise their ideological awareness and consciously resist the corruption of bourgeois ideology.

The new party constitution requires that party members attain a specific level of understanding of the theory and policies of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Many new party members feel that during the 10 years of unrest of the "Cultural Revolution" they did not learn real skills. Although some people received high school diplomas, in the recent junior-senior high school equivalent examination they only had a junior high school level. They expressed a desire to improve their skills, to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought seriously, to attain basic party knowledge and to learn of the line, principles and policies of the party and to study science, literature and vocational work.

The new party constitution makes stricter demands of cadres. Some new party members have already assumed the duties of cadres, and, during the study and discussion, they indicated that in the future they hope to unite comrades in serving the people while working in the first line and meeting the demands of the party constitution.

Our store is an experimental unit in party consolidation. The general party branch is determined to do well in party consolidation work in accordance with the stipulations of the new party constitution and to lead the entire body of party members in thorough study of the new constitution, not only raising the ideological awareness of new party members, but also educating older party members, to it that every Communist Party member can fulfill his vanguard model role in leading the masses in operating a first rate socialist store.

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

SYMPORIUM ON DRAFT OF REVISED CONSTITUTION HELD

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [Studies in Law] in Chinese No 4, 23 Aug 82 back cover

[Article by Zheng Ping [2398 1627]: "Give Full Support to Democracy and Earnestly Engage in Discussion"]

[Text] From 31 May to 1 June, 1982, the Law Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences held a symposium in Beijing on the draft of the revised constitution. The symposium was attended by comrades from the political-legal departments, from schools of politics and law, from units of political science and law school and research institutes and comrades from the press and from publishing houses, altogether 40 persons. The meeting was presided over by Comrades Sun Yaming [1327 0068 2429], Director of the Law Institute, Han Youtong [7281 1636 2717], Deputy Director of the Institute, and Wange Shuwen [3769 0647 2429]. Attending the meetings there were old comrades with many years experience in political-legal work and in legal research work, as well as legal scholars in the prime of their lives and newly rising forces in teaching and research. They all gathered with a high sense of responsibility as masters of their own affairs and regarded it the bounded and glorious duty of the jurisprudential circles to further improve the draft of the revised constitution. They earnestly engaged in discussions, stated their own concepts and put forward their own opinions and suggestions.

All comrades at the meeting agreed that this draft constitution enjoys the greatest support among all constitutions since the establishment of our government and represents a great advance even over the 1954 Constitution, which people considered quite satisfactory. The draft takes the resolutions of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee as its guide, firmly upholds the four basic principles, lays down the fundamental institutions and tasks of the state and determines the road of socialist modernizations as suitable for the national conditions of our country. They said with deep feeling, the draft gives expression to the common aspirations of the whole people of all nationalities, and that it is permeated with the one fundamental principle of serving the greatest interests of the overwhelming majority in our country. The discussion of the draft by the entire people demonstrates that our country's political life has further improved in stability and normality, restored the tradition of the 1954 Constitution of upholding the mass line and indicates that our

country's socialist democracy and legal system have developed to a new stage. They said: the guiding ideology of the 1975 Constitution was erroneous, the methods of drawing up that constitution were undemocratic; there was absolutely no consultation of the opinion of the masses. In the case of the 1978 Constitution, there was also no widespread consultation of jurisprudential circles. In the present revision of the constitution, the central authorities repeatedly arranged discussions with the comrades of our jurisprudential circles, and launched an open discussion by the whole people. This shows that the party and the state attach great importance to the opinions of the legal specialists and of the masses, and this will certainly result in a much more perfect constitution. All participants at the symposium fully approved the draft constitution and on this basis put forward their own opinions and constructive suggestions.

During the meeting Comrade Zhang Youyu [1728 0645 3342], Deputy General Secretary of the Constitutional Revision Commission, Vice President of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and noted legal scholar, gave a major speech. He said: In our revision of the constitution we must be guided by a correct theory, must adopt a study method of linking theory with reality and of starting out from the actual conditions. We cannot ask for formal "perfection" and must not say that we should have whatever is in foreign constitutions. The constitution is the basic law. It is not a compendium of all laws, but can only regulate the most basic questions in the life of the state. Following his speech, he answered one by one questions brought up during the discussions and gave explanations.

At last, Comrade Wang Shuwen gave the summing-up speech, in which he said: This symposium was very successful. All participating comrades spoke out freely and everyone aired his views. On the basis of earnest study, each stated his own concepts and put forward his own valuable opinions and enthusiastic suggestions. Active participation in the discussion, to make this draft constitution attain a high degree of maturity, is one of the tasks that must be borne by all of us comrades in the field of law. He said: The present revision of the constitution upholds the principle of seeking truth from facts. The draft has been much improved in legal form and strengthened in its normative and scientific character. The provisions in the various articles have also been rendered more compact and clearer. He finally pointed out that everybody had expressed the opinion that the draft constitution is a very perfect and very mature draft, and had expressed the belief that through the discussion by the whole people and further improvements, and after formal enactment by the National People's Congress, it will become a great fundamental law in this new historical era of our country and will be of extreme significance for the further development of socialist democracy, for the perfection of the socialist legal system and as an assurance that our country will be built up into a powerful modern socialist state.

9808
CSO: 4005/7

PARTY AND STATE

MAO'S MASS LINE ON EVALUATING CADRES DISCUSSED

Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Sep 82 p 5

[Article by Yang Yuyin [2799 3768 0603]: "The Masses Need To Be Consulted in Investigating Cadres"]

[Text] Thanks to suggestions from the masses, An Kang [1344 1660], former secretary of the Jixian County party committee, was finally exposed as a serious problem and an incompetent and immoral cadre; disqualifying him from being promoted to any important position. This is a victory for the party's line of upholding the truth and seeking truth from facts, as well as a reminder to certain bureaucrats. A Chinese proverb says: "Three feet thick ice takes more than one cold day to form." A serious problem such as the one posed by An Kang was certainly not created in a matter of a single day. Isn't it true that cadres and the masses in Jixian County never brought this problem to the attention of their higher authorities? Does anyone believe that the related leadership department was really unaware of it? The masses will doubt that it is true. Also incomprehensible is why An Kang was so popular and enjoyed so much trust from his superiors, and why he was praised as "an advanced example," showered with offers of higher positions before his problem was investigated and exposed by newspaper reporters. This has prompted people to ask: Why did some investigators view An Kang as a serious problem while others called him "a hard-to-find cadre" and why did they draw such different conclusions from the same investigation?

This will lead people to figure out a way to solve the problem of how to investigate cadres.

Our party cadres are the people's cadres. The masses of people know better than anybody else about what their cadres have done, whether they are superior or inferior, and whether they are good or bad. For this reason, the masses are in the best position to judge cadres. An Kang spent several years in Jixian County serving as secretary of its party committee, or the preeminent leader in that locality. As far as the investigation of his work and performance is concerned, undoubtedly the cadres and the masses in Jixian County knew him better than anybody else, and therefore, they should be the first to be interviewed for in this matter. If high ranking leaders spend time only in their office, if they are unwilling to contact other cadres and the masses, and if they listen only to briefings given by a few aides, and only want to

touch the surface of the matter in question; they will find it very difficult to get a true picture of the situation, or a comprehensive understanding of what is really going on. Conducting investigations in this manner is apt to lead people to misjudge and come up with inaccurate conclusions on the matter at issue. Undeniably, this is an important factor which led the related department to draw conclusions in the investigation of An Kang which were extremely different from those drawn by newspaper reporters. We can learn an important lesson from this experience. According to the newspaper reports, An Kang also had "a very good idea" in dealing with "bureaucrats." He was a man capable of pleasing his superiors with flattery and gifts. When he took trips to Taiyuan and Linfen, he always loaded his car with noodles, edible oils, fruits and wine. Who were the recipients? What effect did they have on the recipients? Although the common people did not have the exact answer, they knew one thing for sure, that is, the recipients would say something in favor of An Kang when he was recommended for promotion.

Comrade Mao Zedong once said: A leader must assume the following two responsibilities: First, he must give "counsel"; second, he must "put cadres to good use." In employing cadres, he must first get to "know them." Only in this way can he "put cadres to good use." The investigation of the problem of An Kang shows that some of our "leaders" really "know very little about cadres." Then, is it likely that personalities similar to An Kang will be exposed in the future? This has become a subject of deep concern and constant debate among the people. However, so far one thing is sure: Even if cadres like An Kang win temporary promotion, sooner or later they will be toppled by the masses.

At present, the party Central Committee has reaffirmed the need to promote cadres of political integrity and professional competence to important positions. This is really a wise policy decision. In light of the lessons drawn from the investigation of An Kang, I would like to give leading comrades at all levels and other comrades concerned with the employment of cadres the following counsel: In the future when they are assigned to investigate and recruit cadres, they are advised to contact the masses first and conscientiously listen to their views and opinions.

9574

CSO: 4005/20

PARTY AND STATE

STUDY, PROMOTION OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 1

[Article by staff correspondent: "The Standing Committee of the Provincial Party Committee Continues In Depth Study of the Documents of the 12th Party Congress--Initial Steps Are Taken For the Study, Promotion and Implementation of the Spirit of the Documents Throughout the Province"]

[Text] On 9 September, the provincial party committee convened a standing committee meeting to continue the in-depth study of the 12th Party Congress documents and to make initial arrangements for party organizations at every level throughout the province to study and promote these documents and to implement the spirit of the documents.

In their study and discussion, the comrades who attended the meeting unanimously held that the report "Create a New Overall Situation in Socialist Modernization Construction" by Comrade Hu Yaobang [5170 5069 6721], is a striving program for building a strong, modern, highly civilized, highly democratic socialist nation. The report held high the banner of communism, pointed out the strategic goals, focal points and procedures of our nation's economic development by the end of this century--as well as a series of correct principles to be followed--and correctly upheld the socialist system and the four important guarantees of carrying out modernization construction. This report has already been passed by the 12th Party Congress and from now on has become a fundamental basis for every item of work throughout the party. The new party constitution, which is a program to strengthen party construction under the new historical conditions, also has already been passed by the 12th Party Congress and has gone into effect. This is a tremendous event for the entire party and the entire nation. The report and the constitution are brilliant Marxist documents. Using communist ideology as a guide, we must study and use the documents of the 12th Party Congress and transform their spirit into real action, creating a new situation in the socialist modernization of our province. In their study and discussion, everyone analyzed the advantageous conditions of the socialist construction in our province and confidently showed that there is a completely scientific basis for the great goal set forth by Comrade Hu Yaobang in his report of quadrupling the 1980 annual gross value of agricultural and industrial output by the end of this century, and that this is in keeping with the actual conditions in our nation and in our province. If only we the people throughout the province will actively mobilize, closely follow

the plans of the party Central Committee, unify our ideology in line with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, increase our sense of responsibility as masters of the state, develop our superiority, uncover our potential and solidly carry out our work, then this goal can certainly be reached.

In the study, everyone felt that the important speeches of Comrades Ye Jianying [5509 0494 5391] and Chen Yun [7115 0061] given at the full session of the 12th Party Congress were sincere and honest and very moving. The older generations of revolutionaries have already done much work and their spirit of "putting one's shoulder to the wheel until one's dying day" in working for the party and the revolution has established a brilliant example for us to learn from. The long-term task of communism will require the hard work of many generations to complete. We must resolve to implement thoroughly the strategic policy of cooperation between the old and the new cadres, make a smooth transition of responsibilities, selecting the capable, doing a good job of passing on experience, giving help and setting examples, and guaranteeing a long period of peace and order for our nation and prosperity and development for the socialist cause.

The standing committee listened to the report of the propaganda department of the party committee and made initial arrangements to carry out study and promotion of the 12th Party Congress documents and to implement the spirit of the congress throughout the province. (1) Party committees at every level must organize and lead the broad party members, cadres and masses throughout the province in thoroughly studying the documents of the 12th Party Congress, taking the opening remarks of Comrade Deng Xiaoping to be the general guiding ideology, and they must start a surge of study and promotion of these documents. The comrades with major responsibility must take the lead in study, guide others in study, take the lead in explaining and publicizing the spirit of these documents and thoroughly implement document proposals in an exemplary way. They must fully foster the tremendous mobilization and organizational functions of the documents, arouse the spirits of the people throughout the province, be of one mind, work hard, do solid work and struggle to create a new situation in the socialist construction in our province. (2) On the foundation of studying and understanding the spirit of the documents of the 12th Party Congress, the party committees of every area, municipality and county and every department under direct provincial control must engage in survey research and forum discussions and come up with realistic programs and specialized plans. (3) Every department in every area must combine study of the documents of the 12th Party Congress with each item of actual work and do a good job in present work, emphasizing industrial and agricultural production and overall rectification work and fully completing every task raised by the provincial party committee at the beginning of the year.

At this meeting of the standing committee of the provincial party committee, it was also decided that the provincial party committee should prepare to convene an enlarged meeting of the full committee after "10/1" [1 October]. It was requested that every area and every related department immediately begin work on setting forth related plans and programs and preparing well for the enlarged meeting of the full committee of the provincial party committee.

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

SHANDONG CADRES GUIDE STUDY OF 12TH CPC NATIONAL CONGRESS DOCUMENTS

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 4 Sep 82 pp 1, 4

Article: "Struggle to Fulfill the Great Missions Set Forth By the 12th CPC National Congress: Provincial CPC Committee and Provincial Government Leadership Cadres Enter Deeply Into the Basic Level, Work With Masses in Earnestly Studying Documents of 12th CPC National Congress"

Text In the morning of 3 September the leadership cadres of the Provincial CPC Committee and the Provincial Government split up to go to the Jinan petrochemical plant and the Jinan Railroad Bureau to, along with the cadres and masses, study and discuss the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, freely discuss the great historical significance of the 12th National Congress, and pledge determination to, under the guidance of the line of the 12th CPC National Congress, struggle to launch a comprehensive new phase of socialist modernization.

Provincial CPC Committee Secretary Gao Quyun and provincial vice-governors Song Yimin and Zhang Jingshou went to the Jinan petrochemical plant and met with the comrades in charge of the plant and the secretaries of the party branches of each department, the trade union and Communist Youth League cadres, the model party members of each department, and the engineers and technicians. First of all, they studied comrade Deng Xiaoping's opening remarks and the report of comrade Hu Yaobang. Then there took place an enthusiastic informal discussion. When expressing opinions, everyone pointed out that the 12th CPC National Congress was the most important congress since the 7th CPC National Congress; that it determined the party's grand objectives and struggle missions in the new historical period; and that it has caused us to become more confident and will further develop our party, our state, and our cause. The party chapter secretaries and the model party members expressed the opinion that the great mission of the new situation of comprehensively carrying out socialist modernization set forth by the CPC Central Committee reflects the will of the entire party and the entire population, and that we definitely must develop the revolutionary spirit of struggling all one's life for the communist cause, fully bring into play the vanguard model role in economic construction, and contribute to constructing socialist material culture and spiritual culture. The representatives of the engineers and technicians expressed the opinion that henceforth, in economic construction it will be necessary to, in endeavoring to increase economic effectiveness, making innovations

and other aspects, positively contribute their intelligence and talent. During the information discussion the leadership comrades of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial government also freely discussed the results and experiences of their own study of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, which helped enlighten and help everyone. The comrade heading the plant's party committee also reported to the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government leaders on the plant's accomplishments since the 11th Session of the 3d Central Committee; warmly praised the correct lines, guiding principles, and policies of the 3d Plenum; and stated that it was necessary to recapitulate the plant's practices, organize the broad worker-staff masses to earnestly study and grasp the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress documents, unify the thoughts of the broad party members, cadres, and Youth League members regarding the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress, and struggle to launch the new situation of all-round socialist modernization!

The comrades in charge of the Provincial CPC Committee and the provincial people's government--Li Zichao, Lin Ping, Liu Peng, Zhu Qimen, etc.--and the comrades in charge of the Jinan Railroad Bureau, outstanding party members model workers, advanced producers, and the railroad engineers and technicians, cadres, and staff-worker representatives, studied and discussed the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress. Everyone related their personal experiences, warmly praised the great historical transformation brought about by our party during the 6 years since the smashing of the Jiangqing counter-revolutionary clique, especially during the 4 years since the 11th Session of the 3d CPC Central Committee and the great transformations on all fronts, and freely discussed the profound historical significance of the victorious convening of the 12th CPC National Congress. The socialist construction program and great objectives set by the 12th CPC National Congress will advance our country's socialist modernization.

In expressing their opinions, the comrades of the railroad system said with incomparable enthusiasm that the common objectives and missions of the new historical period set forth in the report of comrade Hu Yaobang profoundly inspired them after they heard them, and that the more they studied them the more confident they became and the more they were moved. Especially, making communications a key strategy in the next 20 years of economic development further inspired everyone. Rail transportation is an important aspect of communications, and is in the vanguard of national economic development. Whether rail transportation is carried out well or not is directly related to the achievement of the great objectives of the four modernizations. Everyone unanimously expressed the opinion that they were determined not to be unworthy of the great trust and hope of the party and the people, that they would earnestly study the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, with communist thought and attitude perform their work well, and ensure that the railroads are always open and unobstructed, extend in all directions, and are safe and on schedule, and play their vanguard role well, in order to make significant contributions to the new phase of socialist modernization.

The comrades in charge of the Provincial CPC Committee and provincial government successively expressed their opinions and freely discussed their study and

experience, and did a good job of organizing study by the railroad system's cadres, staff, and workers of the requirements of the 12th CPC National Congress documents. They said that railroad transportation had an important relationship to national economic development, that its work is glorious and its responsibility is great, and that they definitely must keep abreast of the new situation resulting from the great historical transformation and do a good job of serving as the vanguard in the new phase of initiating socialist modernization. To this end, it is first of all necessary to thoroughly study the 12th CPC National Congress documents; especially, each leadership echelon must set an example in study, and organizing study by the cadres, staff, and workers of the 12th CPC National Congress documents must be made a foremost matter and a central task. In studying, it is necessary to grasp the fundamentals of communist moral education and use communist theory, thought, and spirit in grasping and implementing the 12th CPC National Congress documents. It is necessary to foster the revolutionary study style of theory related to practice and use the spirit of the 12th CPC National Congress documents to command our work and activities, and to become confident and enthusiastic because of study, in order to carry out the operations of railroad transportation well and fulfill the great strategic mission assigned to it by the party.

5616
CSO: 4005/1321

PARTY AND STATE

CLASS CHARACTER, SOCIAL CHARACTER OF LAW DISCUSSED

Beijing FAXUE YANJIU [Studies in Law] in Chinese No 4, 23 Aug 82 pp 24-27

[Article by Sun Guohua [1327 0948 5478] and Zhu Jingwen [2612 2529 2429]: "Tenative Discussion on the Class Character and Social Character of Law"]

[Text] Class character is an important attribute, but not the only attribute of law. It is therefore not right to conclude that the character of law is simply this one and only class character, and it is equally wrong to regard law purely as a tool of class struggle. Law has many attributes and functions, and the social character of law is yet another important aspect of the character of law. The question is how are we to understand the social character of law and how are we to understand the relationship between the class character and the social character of law.

In the discussion of the class character of law, some comrades pointed out that the social character of law is one that reflects "the interests and demands of the entire society." A "social character" understood in this way inevitably and absolutely displaces any class character. This is simply not a characteristic attribute of law.

It is true, law took root in the social life, but it is not at all the product of the social life of just any kind of society, but only the product of the social life at the stage when primitive society disintegrated and changed into a class society and in the various forms of the class society, as well as at the stage when the class society changed to the classless communist society.

The social nature of law denotes that law is the reflection of the social relations in the above-mentioned stages of social development. Its existence and development is, in the final analysis, determined by the production relations of the societies at these historical stages. Law is at the same time also the adjuster for the production relations in these various societies. The study of law cannot separate itself from the social relations which it reflects and protects. However, law does not reflect the social relations of just any kind of society, but only the social relations of a society with economic inequality and the social relations that benefit the ruling class. The social nature and the class nature of law therefore do not exclude each other, but are dialectically linked and organically an entity. The social nature of law reflects its class nature, and the class nature of law explains its social nature.

The social nature of law reflects its class nature. This, first of all, demonstrates that the social relations themselves, that are reflected in law, bear class character, have class polarization and have the social relations of a society in which there is class struggle and the social relations that are beneficial for the ruling class. This furthermore demonstrates that law is not at all a passive and negative reflection and image of these social relations, but rather an active and positive affirmation, protection and development; it is active service that it performs.

The class character of law explains its social nature. This, first of all, demonstrates that in law the will of the ruling class, on which corporal form has been bestowed by means of laws, is not sprung from just any kind of imagination, but is the reflection of certain social relations, in the final analysis, of the demands of the production relations in a certain society.

It furthermore demonstrates that if the law is to fulfill its function of class suppression, it must at the same time carry out certain social functions. Engels once pointed out: "Political rule is everywhere based on the performance of certain social functions, and the political rule can only be sustained as long as these kinds of social functions can be performed."* This tenet is absolutely appropriate and fitting in the case of law. To fulfill its class mission, law must give consideration to certain common needs of society, such as e.g. safeguarding traffic order, building water conservancy projects, protecting the environment, etc., since carrying out these social functions are the indispensable conditions for the continuation of the political rule. Summing up these two points we may also say that law, being a social norm closely related with class and class struggle and possessed with class character, takes root in the social relations at a certain stage of human history and, in the final analysis, takes root in the economic life. The class character of law precisely shows the social nature of law and illustrates the fact that law is the reflection and adjuster of certain social relations.

When certain comrades set the social nature of law absolutely against the class character of law, they also seem to set the class character of law absolutely against the objective nature of law, i.e. against the objective rule. As they see it, only the social nature of law can reflect the objective rule of social development, and the class character of law does not reflect this kind of objective rule.

Actually, as we said before, not only is the social nature of law ultimately conditioned by the objective rule of social development, but the class character of law too is ultimately conditioned by the objective rule of the transformation of society from the primitive commune society to class society and from class society to the classless society of communism. Law is the superstructure of society; its nature is, in the final analysis, conditioned by the rule of the developmental movement of the economic base, on the establishment of which it relies.

* "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, p 219.

Law can reflect the objective rule of social life, and it is, in the final analysis, conditioned by this objective rule because law is a special form of this social movement. However, law is no-tantamount to this kind of objective rule. Law is the reflection of a certain social relations; it may correctly reflect the objective rule, but may also distort or violate the objective rule. It is definitely not so that because law is of a social nature, it is certain to reflect correctly the objective rule and it is also definitely not so that law, because of its class nature, cannot reflect the objective rule. A specific analysis is required to determine the conditions of objective rule being reflected in law. Generally speaking, the extent to which law reflects the objective rule of social development determines the extent of class essence in law and determines the extent of awareness of the ruling class as to its own interests. At a time when the law reflects the interests and the will of a class that represents the new production relations when the class is in its ascendency, it can be well in line with the objective rule of social development. At a time when law reflects the interests and the will of a class that represents production relations that hinder the development of productive forces, when this class is in the decline, law will be an obstacle to social development and will become a tool in the hands of the ruling class that is resisting the production relations from definitely conforming with the objective rule, which is of the nature of the productive forces. However, this kind of resistance cannot be maintained for a long time. "When a country's regime sets itself against the development of the economy...the struggle ends everytime with the overthrow of the regime. The economic development always, without exception and mercilessly, opens a road for itself."*

The extent to which law reflects the society's objective rule of development is on the one hand determined by the historical stage in which the ruling class finds itself, and on the other hand by the extent to which the ruling class is aware of its own class interests. The latter refers mainly to the question to what extent law reflects the particular economic rule of its production relations, on the establishment of which law relies.

It also shows that the objective nature of law, i.e. the extent to which law reflects the objective rule of social development, is not in an opposite position to the class character of law. The fact that law reflects the objective rule of social development to quite different degrees demonstrates precisely the difference of the class character of law under different sociohistorical conditions.

By placing social nature and class character of law into the position of opposites leads inexorably to the erroneous conclusion that only one sector of legal norms has class character (as for instance that sector of the law whose function is class suppression) and that another sector of legal norms (for instance that sector that adjusts internal relations within the ruling class or carries out social functions) is without class character.

* "Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 3, pp 222-223.

It is very obvious that the legal norms which regulate the relations between the ruling class and the ruled classes have class character. Do the legal norms that regulate the internal relations within the ruling class also have class character? The answer is also in the affirmative.

Since law reflects the will of the ruling class, the legal norms that regulate the internal relations within the ruling class are equally reflections of the common will of the ruling class. How could they in that case be without class character? When law regulates the internal relations of the ruling class, it intends to have the interests of the various groups and individuals within the ruling class submit to the interests of the ruling class as a whole, serve the struggle of the ruling class against the ruled classes and serve the basic interest of antagonistic struggle against domestic and foreign hostile forces.

Anyone who holds that legal norms which regulate the internal relations within the ruling class are not of class character, commits two mistakes: First, he simply equates class character with class dictatorship. In the opinion of comrades who hold this view, it seems that only exercising dictatorship can be called "of class character," and since the law that adjusts the relations within the ruling class is not a dictatorship of one class over the other, it appears to them to have no class character. Actually, the dictatorship over the hostile classes is only one aspect of the class character of law. The class character of law manifests itself also when it adjusts the relations within the ruling class and in doing so protects the interests of the ruling class as a whole, and on the other hand also restricts the wilful and reckless actions of specific groups or individuals within the ruling class. Second, he completely isolates the function of law as it regulates the relations within the ruling class from the function of the law of effecting suppression of the ruled classes and of combating the domestic and foreign hostile forces, as if adjusting the relations within the ruling class, effecting dictatorship over the ruled classes and the struggle against domestic and foreign hostile forces have no inherent relations among each other. In actual fact there is a very close relationship between the effective adjustment of relations within the ruling class and fostering democracy within the ruling class on the one hand and the dictatorship over the ruled classes and the struggle against domestic and foreign hostile forces and for the protection of its political rule. How can one say that they are without class character?

At the present stage of our country, the exploiting classes have already been eliminated as classes. The question of adjustments of laws is in a large measure an internal question of the people, and many of its problems are not problems of class struggle. However, if legal norms do not directly regulate class struggle problems, it does not mean that such legal norms have no class character. This is so because: First, every legal norm in our country is the expression of the common will of the broad masses led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance. Every legal norm has been adopted and is being implemented by starting out from the interests of the working class and the masses. They are distinctly of class character. Second, the question regulated by the norm itself may not

be a question of class struggle, but it will be a question dealt with and resolved according to the will of the broad masses led by the working class, unquestionably beneficial for the overall political state of stability and unity and enhancing the strength of the broad masses led by the working class in their class struggle.

Some comrades hold that no class character is in such norms that fulfill certain social functions, such as laws concerning seeds, laws on the protection of the environment, traffic regulations, because they are beneficial for all members of the society. This is obviously simply setting "class character" against the concept of "benefit for the whole society," as if anything that is beneficial for the whole society by this fact alone will not have class character. If we use this criterion in analyzing typical laws of exploitation, it will not always be appropriate, and it is an even less suitable criterion by which to analyze socialist law. The reason for such oversimplified views to arise is linked again with the idea that the class character of law and the social nature of law are two things standing in opposition to each other.

As already mentioned, the political rule of a class demands that certain social functions must be carried out, as otherwise no political rule could maintain its rule. Throughout Chinese history, the feudal ruling classes always understood that controlling the Yellow River was of major significance for their safe possession of "all under heaven." Building water conservancy projects, protecting the environment, establishing and safeguarding traffic order, etc., were carrying out such social functions. Evidently they were beneficial for the entire society, but don't overlook what kind of a "society" it was. Don't forget that this "society" was one that worked to enable the ruling class to continue ruling. As the ruling class in the exploitative society concerned itself with these matters, it cannot be said that the working people too did not derive some benefits, but the fundamental element is that these matters benefitted the ruling class because they enabled them to continue ruling. In the socialist society the broad masses led by the working class will of course give greater care and better attention to these matters. The socialist law contains a great mass of norms to carry out economic and cultural functions as well as social functions, which is a fact closely bound up with the class essence of socialist law. Socialist law has the historical mission of transforming the old society and building a new society. Socialist law exercises certain social functions, not only as needed to bring about the political rule of the masses led by the working class, but also to create the preconditions for the building of socialism and communism, for the ultimate elimination of class distinctions, for the elimination of political rule per se and for the liberation of all mankind. In socialist law, as determined by its very essence, class character and social nature are identical. Fundamentally, the interests of the working class represent the interests of the total social development; what suits the interests of the working class, will of necessity also suit the interests of the entire society, and what suits the interests of the total social development also, of necessity, suits the interests of the working class. The social nature of socialist law reflects the class character of socialist law, and the class character of socialist law determines its even broader social nature.

Some comrades see that such legal norms, as a law concerning seeds, a law for the protection of the environment and traffic control regulations, exist in the same form in a socialist as well as in a capitalist society, thus both societies having the same norms. These comrades therefore conclude that this type of norms has no class character. In our opinion this is a confused conception of things and there are two reasons for such a confused conception to arise:

First, one reason is that it regards the legal norm in an isolated way, divorced from the social relations which the legal norm reflects and protects and also divorced from the entire legal system to which the norms belong. Observing legal norms in this kind of an isolated manner will of course not clarify their nature. Let us consider the law on the protection of the environment. If we place the legal norms of this law into the legal structure into which it belongs and observe it in connection with the social relations which it reflects and protects, its class character will be very obvious. The law on the protection of the environment in a capitalist country, within the overall legal system of the bourgeois country and in coordination with the other bourgeois norms, will protect the social relations and the public order that is advantageous to the bourgeoisie. The same law in a socialist country is a component of the socialist legal structure and together with the other socialist norms will protect the social relations and the public order beneficial for socialism. How can one say that it will have no class character?

Second, there is a confusion between the concept of purely technical norms and legal technical norms. The technical norms reflect the relations between man and nature, between man and his work objective or work tools. These technical norms per se do not have class character, but the observance of certain technical norms does not only concern the relationship of man to nature or man to his work objective and work tools, but also the relationship of man to man. Violations of the technical norms are not merely violations of natural norms, but can also affect or endanger the interests of other members of the society. In this way certain technical norms, apart from their original attributes as technical norms, acquire social character and become social technical norms, and their observance is demanded by the need to protect certain social relations. These norms have now greatly proliferated following the increase in the social productive forces, the constantly growing socialization of production and the increasing ability of man to transform and destroy the environment around him. As to certain technical norms that relate to the major social interests, the ruling class frequently uses the power of the state to affirm their properties as legal norms or determines that observance of these technical norms is an obligation in law. As a consequence, these technical norms are no more purely technical norms and also not purely social technical norms, but become legal technical norms. The law on the protection of the environment, the law concerning seeds, traffic regulations and legal provisions concerning safety in production, labor insurance, standardization, administration of weights and measures, protection of natural resources, etc. contain norms that are originally technical norms without class character. However, as these norms are fixed within the state's legal system and become an indispensable

component of the existing order, they manifest the will of the ruling class, become legal technical norms and become a component of the legal system that serves the social relations beneficial for the ruling class concerned and acquire class character. Therefore looking at that aspect of legal technical norms that reflect the relationship of man to nature and that reflect the rules of nature, they don't possess class character. Looking at their having social nature and the attributes of law, seeing that they serve certain social relations, are affirmed by the state and have their observance and enforcement guaranteed by the power of the state, they also acquire class character. That means that every legal norm, including legal technical norms that originally reflected natural rules and later came to reflect certain social relations, all have class character. There are no legal norms in the world that do not possess class character.

Of course we must distinguish between different legal norms. Those legal norms that originated in technical norms have of course a strong tendency to preserve continuity. When introducing any kind of advanced technology, the continued use of the technical norms connected with it will be considered, but before affirming it in law, the difference in social systems must also be given consideration. For instance, a socialist country will give greater consideration to the protection of the workers, and it will therefore not be possible to simply copy the provisions in the laws of the capitalist countries. We must distinguish what has to be complied with technically and what are legal attributes. Through an analysis of the above kind, we must, in our opinion, acknowledge and correctly understand this concept of the social nature of law, and correctly understand the relationship between the class character and the social nature of law. The class character and the social nature of law are the major characteristics of law; they are different and yet also permeate one another. The social nature of law is one that also contains class character because law is inevitably linked with class and class struggle. The class character of law is one that contains social nature because law per se is a kind of social phenomenon; it is a special form of social movement. Both are one organic entity and not mutually exclusive. There are many attributes of law, and we must not deny one because of the presence of a certain other attribute. It is of course even less permissible to take the social nature of law as reason to deny the class character, this essential attribute of law.

9808
CSO: 4005/7

PARTY AND STATE

BRIGADE BRANCH SECRETARY URGES STRUGGLE TO ACHIEVE NEW PRODUCTION GOALS

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Sep 82 p 4

[Report by Jiang Baoxun [1203 1405 7311], the Party Branch Secretary of the Bao An Production Brigade of Yuan Bao Commune in Qing An County: "Foster the Roles of Party Members, Realize the Magnificent Goal"]

[Text] The new party constitution is a revision of the 11th Party Congress constitution with many changes of basic significance. It eliminated the "leftist" errors of the 11th Party Congress constitution and has placed even greater demands on party members and party cadres than any of the previous party constitutions did. This was completely necessary. Only in this way could our party develop greater fighting strength and better develop its core leadership role so that it could lead the masses in realizing the great goal of quadrupling the annual gross value of agricultural and industrial output by the end of this century.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party branch has maintained the "three meetings and one lesson" system, continually raising the quality of party members, fostering the three great workstyles and strengthening the battle fortress role of the party branch and the vanguard roles of party members. As a result, we have been better able to lead the masses on the communes into seriously implementing each policy and principle established by the party since the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, in completing and perfecting systems of responsibility in agricultural production and in rapidly production. Gross agricultural income in 1981 was twice that of 1979 and per capita income increased 1.5 fold. Collective accumulation continued to increase and commune members became more and more prosperous. In the last few years, the savings of the 500 households throughout the entire brigade in the commune credit cooperative alone has exceeded 130,000 yuan; 20 percent of the commune households have built brick houses; and sales of high-grade goods have increased. We can see from the development of production in our brigade in the last 3 years that the fighting capacity of the party organization and the leading model roles of party members are extremely important in the thorough implementation of the principles and policies of the party and in guaranteeing the rapid development of production.

"If you want to work with iron, you must be tough yourself." The 12th Party Congress set our great targets, and the tasks that lie before us are increasing-

ly arduous. Because of this, our party branch must place greater stress on self-strengthening and must organize the entire body of party members to study and implement the report and the new constitution of the 12th Party Congress seriously, seeing to it that all party members are clear about the nature, position and role of the party and act strictly in accordance with the stipulations of the new party constitution concerning the duties of party members. In this way, we will further foster the model vanguard role of the party members, strengthen the fighting capability of the party branch, lead the masses in carrying out the building of the two civilizations, and create a new phase in the building of a socialist modernization in agriculture.

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

COMMUNIST IDEALS, CAUSE PROMOTED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 11 Sep 82 p 4

[Article by Yang Shiliang [2799 6108 9037]: "Let Life Shine Under the Realization of Communism"]

[Text] Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: Spiritual civilization is to make our people into cultured laborers with revolutionary ideals, morals, and discipline. Revolutionary ideals are communist ideals. Communist ideals are the most beautiful ideals of mankind. Today, the significance and value of each and every one of our lives is inseparable from communist ideals.

Why do we say that the most beautiful ideals are communist ideals? Because we believe that the most beautiful society is a communist society. In such a society, a high level of economic, scientific and technological development combines with the overall development of the people themselves, a prosperous material life combines with individual spiritual perfection, the innate strength of man achieves its greatest liberation and the excellent character and intellectual brilliance of man achieves full development. Just as Marx said--in communist society, every man becomes an artist and all labor becomes artistic labor.

Ideals are dissatisfaction with social realities and are the yearning for and pursuit of a beautiful future. In a class society, the rulers and those who are ruled, the exploiting class and those who are exploited, each have their own ideal; in each of the different social stages in the history of mankind's development, the representatives of each class have always unceasingly sought the ideal corresponding to the interests of their class. In our country, there were the Confucian ideal of "returning the world to benevolence by disciplining the self and restoring the rites" and establishing a "kingdom of gentlemen," the united world of Hong Xiuquan [3163 4423 0356] in which "all in the world are equal and no one goes hungry or cold," and the "three people's principles" and "the world shared by all" of Sun Yat-sen. In the West, there have been the Christian ideal of the "kingdom of Heaven," the bourgeois revolutionary's "freedom, equality and brotherhood of mankind," and the "utopia" and "city of sunshine" of the utopian socialist.... Although their depictions of the future have been full of enthusiasm, their ideals could not possibly be realized because they were divorced from the actual levels of the productive forces of society and the degree of civilization. Those who held such ideals

failed to see the correct path to reforming social life and the class strength which can be relied upon in doing so. Some of these ideals have even performed the function of paralyzing the people. Only by proceeding along with the development of industry after the working class had stepped upon the stage of history and begun to mature day by day, only with the "Communist Manifesto" published by Marx and the transformation of socialism into a science, did mankind truly find the most beautiful ideal that could be gradually realized-- communism. Some comrades, especially younger ones, do not understand the full meaning of the word "communism" and even go so far as to speak of communism as "the same old stuff." Don't they know that this "same old stuff" is just the glorious path that we Chinese peoples have taken to escape the bitter seas and revitalize ourselves? It was only discovered in Marxism after more than 100 years of arduous searching and bloody sacrifice on the part of the Chinese people and successive groups of noble fighters.

The communist cause is a great cause and an arduous cause. It will require a long and tortuous struggle and must rely on the continuing efforts of one generation after another. Some people imagine that one morning communism will suddenly arrive or, when setbacks occur and errors are made, feel that communism is far off and indistinct, that the beautiful ideal is only a mirage. Such views are unquestionably mistaken. If we begin with an historical materialist position, and view the present construction of the socialist material and spiritual civilizations as laying the foundation for the beautiful mansion of communism and the four modernizations as a real step toward realizing the ideal of communism, then we will not feel that communism is far off and indistinct, but rather is real. Just look at this poem found in local records by a martyr who was in prison in 1935: "The enemy can only chop off our heads, but can never shake our belief! Because the doctrines in which we believe are universal truths! We are completely willing to sacrifice for communism and to shed our blood for the Soviet!" Countless revolutionary martyrs and older revolutionaries went through rough times to realize the great ideal of mankind. They were resolute and heroic in struggle, giving up their lives for righteousness and using their youth and life's blood to compose a beautiful poem on the practice of communism. Although they never saw the socialism of today, and didn't even see the victory of the new democracy, nonetheless, in the struggle for the more immediate goals and interests of the working class, they saw the future of the communist movement and didn't in the least feel that communism was far off and indistinct.

An ideal is intimately related to one's outlook on life and one's sense of the value of life. Recently, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League decided to confer the glorious title of "Excellent Communist Youth League Member" on student Zhong Hua [6988 6985], and to call upon the broad youths to learn from her. Zhong Hua has contracted leukemia which is difficult to cure, but she is neither afraid nor discouraged. Rather, she is taking advantage of the limited time she has left to struggle for the four modernizations. She says: "The value of a life cannot be measured by its length, but by the size of its contribution to society. In living today, I must struggle for tomorrow!" From Lei Feng [7191 6912] and Zhao Chun [6392 2504 1230] to student Zhong Hua who continues studying and living today, such people have all intimately combined the far reaching ideal of communism with the practical spirit of action

and, starting with their own time and with themselves, have actively laid the bricks that would lead to the realization of communism. In the persons of countless martyrs, heroes and exemplary figures, we have seen the brilliance of the beautiful ideal and the significance and value of life.

Life is beautiful and ideals are moving. The 12th Party Congress began a new historical situation and raised the tremendous goals of building four modernizations. Let's arouse our revolutionary spirit and act bravely--the beautiful prospect of communism shall be realized!

9705
CSO: 4005/28

PARTY AND STATE

INCOLCATING MASSES WITH SOCIALIST IDEOLOGY STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 27 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by You Gan [1429 2413]: "Talking About Inculcation"]

[Text] As early as the time of socialist transformation, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The cooperative must emphasize doing good political work. The fundamental mission of doing political work is to incessantly inculcate socialistic ideology to the peasants and masses; and to criticize capitalistic tendencies." This is to say that the peoples' communistic ideology is not natural, but must be inculcated from without.

The most fundamental purpose of our ideological and political work lies in utilizing revolutionary ideology and revolutionary spirit. That is to say, using communistic ideology and the basic theories of Marxism to teach the cadres, the masses, the entire working class, even all the people; incite and raise the revolutionary awareness of man; and, through repeated practice, raise the understanding of man, and enhance the capability to remodel an objective world. Not understanding this most fundamental purpose of ideological and political work, one will be unable to grasp the key to ideological and political work; and, then, one cannot very well use the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought to teach the vast number of cadres and people, and inculcate from without the communistic ideology into the minds of a billion people.

Why should it be stressed that communistic ideology is inculcated from without and cannot be naturally formed? On this question, Lenin pointed out in his pamphlet, "What Is To Be Done?": "Any worship of spontaneity in the workers movement and any underestimation of the role of 'political consciousness', namely, the role of the Social Democratic Party, will both--absolutely regardless of whether the underestimator wants to or not--strengthen the influence of the capitalistic ideological system over the worker."

"But the reader will perhaps ask: Why will spontaneous movements, carried out along the least lines of resistance, have the tendency toward being controlled by a capitalistic ideological system? The reason is very simple: the origin of the bourgeoisie ideological system is very remote from the socialistic ideological system; it has undergone even more overall processing; it has so many tools for dissemination, they are incomparable." Thus, when Lenin quoted Kautsky (at that time he had not yet forsaken Marxism) in reading a passage from the draft of a new program for the Social Democratic Party of Austria,

he pointed out this is an "absolutely correct and significant statement." Kautsky said: "The socialistic consciousness of this time can only be produced if it has a base of profound scientific knowledge." "Socialistic consciousness is a type of thing that is inculcated from without into the proletarian class struggle, and is not the type of thing that is naturally formed in the struggle. Therefore, Jin Jia Yin Fei [5283 0502 0936 2431] program states accurately: "The mission of the Social Democratic Party is to inculcate the proletariat with the consciousness of understanding the proletariat's place and mission. If this type of consciousness were to naturally appear from within the class struggle, then there is no need to do it this way." The realities of our country also prove this point. Feudalistic ideology has existed in our country for more than 2000 years and capitalistic ideology also has a history of more than 140 years; but there has only been some 60 odd years of communist propaganda. Even though our country's exploiting class has already been abolished as a class, capitalistic ideology and feudalistic ideology have not been destroyed; they have a relatively independent nature toward economic foundations and still exist in our country. If we were not to carry out the inculcation of communistic ideology, bourgeois ideology and ideological remnants of feudalism would inevitably slip through the cracks. Now, there are more who commit serious economic crimes than the 1952 "Three antis". One of the main reasons to be sure is because ideological and political work has not kept pace. That there are some young people who have been subjected to fairly pronounced corruption by bourgeois ideology is, however, also due to not inculcating them with communistic ideology! This is to say if people's minds are not occupied by communist ideology, their minds will inevitably be invaded by all types of non-proletarian ideologies, and will in no way remain as a vacuum. Therefore, the fundamental purpose of our ideological and political work is to incessantly inculcate communistic ideology to the cadres and the masses, raise the political awareness of man, and in repeated practice, enhance mankind's understanding and the capability to remold an objective world. This cannot be forgotten at any time.

A great deal of practice also proves the point. The party committee at our province's Yangzhou Cotten Mill has had several years of practice. They have come to the understanding that there are obviously many reasons why there is currently a definite market for influence from bourgeois ideology and ideological remnants of feudalism on the workers and staff members, especially among younger staff and workers. But a very vital reason is that within a relatively short period of time, the party committee slackened the carrying out of a conscientious and systematic education on advanced ideology for the working class, namely, the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In order to raise class awareness on the part of the staff and workers, and arouse their revolutionary spirit, they had to start from reality, move forward in proper order and sequence, and inculcate the staff and workers with the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong; they had to solve the problem of world outlook and outlook on life. With the communistic ideology instilled, other problems were easy to solve. Thus, since April 1st of last year, they opened a political school at the mill, and have been training the staff and workers according a definite plan on a rotational basis. Emphasis was placed on rotational training for the young workers who entered the mill after 1970. Each session has about 50 students and they are excused from work

to study for a half month. By April of this year, ten sessions had been held and a total of 491 persons had undergone training. The staff and workers who attended the political classes had varied enhancement towards upholding the four basic principles; the historical and fine traditions of the working class as well as ideological understanding. Of those persons who had been on the borderline of committing crimes, after undergoing study, two were removed.

Some comrades ask what can be done in cases where some people have no interest in inculcating the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is merely a viewing phenomenon and is not getting down to the essence of the matter. The vast number of cadres and people only need a party organization which is adept at leading. Starting out from the real situation, not engaging in that type of formalism which was in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," and studying the positive nature of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought will be quite high. The staff and workers for the industries, mines, and other enterprises in Shenyang municipality in Liaoning Province, since the Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, voluntarily organized theory study groups to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Now, there are already 1023 of these groups with participants mounting to more than 10,000 people. Originally, there were those among the staff and workers who felt that studying theory "is useless." Now these people have reached the understanding that "not only is it not useless, it is of great utility." Yang Shengde [2799 4141 1795], a young worker in Workshop No 6 of the Shenyang No 3 Shoe Factory, used to ignore political theory study and was under the influence of a bad social atmosphere. He had wounded someone and was detained and punished. Afterwards, he attended the theory study group in the factory, made very swift progress, and was elected as a new Long March shock worker. With deep feeling, he said: "If a person does not study political theory, he will not have a pillar for his spirit, and will not have lofty ideals; he will then lose his direction. I will always bear in mind the lesson I have learned from ignoring the study of political theory."

We want to build a modernized, highly democratic and civilized, strong socialistic country. What can we achieve if we abandon inculcating Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought to the vast number of cadres and people?

9660
CSO: 4005/1271

PARTY AND STATE

SPIRIT OF COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS PRAISED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Aug 82 p 4

[Article by Xie Xianwen [6200 0341 2429]: "'We Are Communist Party Members' Praised"]

[Text] When faced with the murderous looking hijacking scoundrels, the first thought that came to Yan Jijai [2799 4949 3189], captain of Civil Aviation Flight 2505, was: "I am a Communist Party member. No matter what happens, the conspiracy of the scoundrels cannot be allowed to succeed. Even if I have to die, I must find a way to overcome the scoundrels." At that tense moment, Communist Party members Liu Zhaoxian [0491 0340 6343] and Miao Xueren [5379 1331 0088] shouted to the passengers: "We are Communist Party members. Communist Party members stand up! Let us fight the rotten eggs altogether!" At the signal of the communist members of the flight crew, the Communist Party members among the passengers--Yu Fukun [0205 4395 0981], Wang Shouye [3769 1343 2814], Lu Fayao [7120 3127 1031], and others--courageously rushed forward immediately. Thus, a hijacking incident, rarely seen since the founding of the People's Republic, was thoroughly shattered the moment it occurred.

Faced with the terrific force of a No 9 scale typhoon, the party members from Putian, Ningde, Jinjiang, Xiamen, Fuzhou, etc of Fujian Province stood throughout the entire incident at the forefront of danger. We could hear all over: "We are Communist Party members." From these inspiring voices, we can all see the giant figures of the Communist Party members.

Truth is always concrete. When China was in the days of white terror, Lu Xun [7627 6598] already declared to the whole world: The Communist Party is the locomotive. He once sent a telegram to the party Central Committee: "On your shoulders is entrusted the hope of China and mankind." Lu Xun understood this truth exactly from every move and every act of the Communist Party members at that time. In his "Letter Answering the Trotskyite," he wrote: "With my feet solidly on the ground, I feel honored that I could be a comrade with those who shed blood and struggle for the survival of the Chinese people."

"We are Communist Party members!" These very weighty words, once spoken, are not retractable. During those war years, on the smoke filled battle ground, to be in the front of a charge and ahead in any hardship, Communist Party members always fought to the front to shout: "I will go. I am a Communist Party

member!" Today, in the new long march towards the four modernizations, we hear even more everywhere the solemn call of "I am a Communist Party member." In the front line fighting a blood battle with the enemy, in the time of struggle with scoundrels, and in the ideological battle front of an anti sugar bullet struggle, the masses deeply recognize from these solemn calls and decisive actions that the Communist Party member is the main heart and bone of the revolutionary endeavor and the model of their own work and living!

Comrade Hu Yaobang once said these very meaningful words: "At present, everyone of us must be prepared to write our own history, write our own history beyond 1981, the history of the 1980's." Our Communist Party members are now demonstrating the superior tradition of the party, are further vitalizing their revolutionary spirit, and are writing their own shining history with their actions. From this, the history of our party will be even more magnificent!

5974
CSO: 4005/9

PARTY AND STATE

FUZHOU PARTY MEMBERS LAUDED FOR THEIR INTEGRITY

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Aug 82 p 1

[Article by Li Yuchang [7812 3768 2490]: "Good Party Discipline Brings About Good Army Discipline; "Five Don'ts" Bring About "Five Nos"; Resisting Unhealthy Trends and Evil Practices for Four Years and Promoting the Building of Civilization, A Communication Materials Warehouse of the Fuzhou Units Becomes An Advanced Unit and Receives Notice of Commendation"]

[Text] The party committee people of a certain communications materials warehouse of the Fuzhou units took the lead to obey discipline and laws, resisted unhealthy of a spiritual and cultural civilization at the warehouse. With no corruption, no theft, no taking of graft, no violation of the finance and economic system, and no violation of the principles of issuing materials and equipment since 1978, the entire warehouse recently received a notice of commendation from the leadership organization of the Fuzhou units.

This warehouse is responsible for the issuance of communication materials of the Fuzhou units. Faced with large amounts of state assets, these party committee people maintained a clear head, consciously resisted the corrosion of capitalist ideology, and persisted to achieve the "five don'ts--do not seek private gains at public expense; do not submit to personal friendship; do not accept gifts and bribes; do not use crooked ways; and do not turn on the green light to unlawful acts. In the last 4 years, not a single of the 9 party committee members has ever taken a single item of public material from the warehouse. They strictly carry out the principles of issuing materials and equipment. Any unit or individual that wants anything without following the system and procedures is refused. Once an old army friend of Party Committee Deputy Secretary and Chairman [Zha Ren] Li Tiancheng [2621 1131 2052], who was the head of a local factory, wanted an old telephone switchboard. Li Tiancheng patiently explained: "State assets cannot be used for personal favors. We are both cadres of the party. Official business should be handled officially." On 12 March this year, an acquaintance got hold of party committee standing member and Vice Chairman [Fu Zhu Ren] Zheng Encheng [6774 1869 2052] and wanted to have a small discarded gasoline motor to remodel into a motor for a bicycle. The acquaintance was refused immediately. But he would not accept the refusal and wanted to buy the motor with 20 yuan. Zheng told him solemnly: "This is public property. It cannot be sold to you even for 200 yuan, not to say 20 yuan."

Some people want to gain benefits from the warehouse. They regularly visit the warehouse with gifts and were always firmly refused. Xie Peimin [6200 3099 2404], party committee member and section chief for administration, responsible for the repair and expansion of the warehouse, has refused gifts from a local contracting team 5 times in the last 2 years. One day in February this year, the responsible person of another contracting team brought two hens. Xie forcefully declined with thanks and the person had no choice but to carry the hens back. The warehouse people are determined not to be involved in any violations of the finance and economic system, false reporting and fraudulent claims, concoction of pretexts, and the transforming of large public to small public. They are responsible for the disposal of discarded materials and equipment returned by the armed forces each year. Since 1978, they have sold more than 79,000 yuan of discarded goods. Not a single penny has been retained at the warehouse. The entire sum has been handed over to the state. The warehouse regularly handles the transportation plans for the movement of materials and equipment. Some people wanted them to tranship goods whose procurement had been banned. The party committee members were incorruptible and strictly stood their ground. Once a member of an organization brought an acquaintance of his to the warehouse and asked for help to ship 4 smuggled 'tri-purpose machines' [san yong ji] [0005 3938 2623] to Shenyang as communication equipment and materials. Zhou Jinzhuo [6650 6855 0587], party committee secretary and political commisar, and two other standing members refused without showing any forgiveness.

Good party discipline has brought about good army discipline. The "five don'ts" of the party committee members have brought about the "five nos" of the units. The entire warehouse has no market for unhealthy trends and evil practices. Good people and good events have emerged continuously and the warehouse has become an advanced unit.

5974
CSO: 4005/9

PARTY AND STATE

IMPORTANCE OF STRONG BASE FOR PARTY IDEOLOGY STRESSED

Fuzhou FUJIAN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 82 p 3

[Article by Wang Lianbin [3769 5114 2430]: "Talk On 'Pillar'"]

[Text] As recorded in the Astronomical Lecture in Huainanzi [3232 0589 1311] [a collection of lectures on various subjects, based on Taoist ideology, were written by guests of Liu An (0491 1344), king of Huainan of the Western Han Dynasty, 208 B.C. - A.D. 24]: "Long, long ago, Gong Gong [0364 1562] and Zhuan Xu [7348 7320] were fighting for the king's title. Their rage and fury prevented them to fight around the mountain. Consequently, the heaven pillar crumbled and the link to earth was broken. Heaven was tilted toward the northwest and thus the heavenly bodies were shifted; the earth was dented in the southeast and thus became flooded.

Although this is an ancient mythology without scientific basis, we can see that the ancient people already had an insight into the pillar support influence. We do not believe that there is any heaven pillar. However, we have to hold a scientific attitude towards the pillar support influence. To build a great hall, the pillar must first be selected. If the pillar is not straight, there is nothing even a good artisan can do. When the hall is erected, the pillar should be doubly cared for. If the pillar is damaged and bends, the hall will fall. This is a reasoning that even children can understand.

Is our great socialist fatherland not exactly a great hall standing in the eastern world? In the last decade, how many people with lofty ideals have searched all over the place for the ideal pillar to build the great hall of the Chinese nation? However, from Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao to Sun Yat-sen none of them really found it. Concerned with the crisis of the nation and that the pillar was not erected, Mr Yang Changji [2799 2490 3444], teacher of Mao Zedong during his youth, once wrote: "Shut off in the peach orchard, I wish to plant a large tree to support the long heaven." It expressed his wish to develop pillar materials to build the nation and help the world and his desire to support the swaying heaven that wishes to be strong. Another teacher of Mao Zedong, Mr Li Yuanfu [2621 0337 3940], similarly wrote an antithetical couplet to encourage himself shortly before he died: "To develop materials for the country should have a lumber to support the great hall; to keep the family in order and educate the son cannot compare with Sange in Nanyang."

Actually, a great hall cannot be built with one piece of lumber. This great hall of our socialist fatherland is raised by the joint struggle and joint support of thousands and thousands of Chinese Communist Party members and the entire people of the country under the leadership of the party. In our collective struggle, the party has produced its own leader and a strong and unbreakable spiritual pillar has emerged--Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

In these days of welcoming the 12th CPC National Congress and looking back at our revolutionary history, we cannot help but doubly realize that the fact that we can smoothly push forward socialist revolution and socialist construction is because of the spiritual pillar of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Experiences have shown that if we persist with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we can "hold up the heaven if it falls and straight up the world if it is swept by the winds." Otherwise, the heaven of the working people will fall and the great hall of socialism will suffer. People will not forget that, during the 10 years of land revolutionary battle, because of the rejection of the correct ideology of Mao Zedong and other comrades by the central leadership at that time, the central Soviet area became a history of collapsed "heaven" and subsided "earth." Neither will people forget that during the "Cultural Revolution" the departure from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought led to the lesson of 10 years of internal chaos. And it will be even more difficult to forget the fact that because the true colors of Mao Zedong Thought were reinstated at the party's Third Plenary Session, the damaged great hall of socialism is again becoming more fortified each day....

Our current endeavor is the modernization construction of socialism and the adding of bricks and tiles to the great hall of socialism. We cannot do without the spiritual pillar of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Only with this spiritual pillar can we exert ourselves to the utmost and fight ceaselessly for the party and the people and will there be hope in our endeavors.

5974
CSO: 4005/9

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO BUILD LEADING BODIES OF COMPETENT CADRES EMPHASIZED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Aug 82 p 2

[Article by Wang Yu [3769 1751]: "'Promotion' for the Reason of 'Transfer' Is Not Justified"]

[Text] At present, a case connected with the administration and employment of cadres has come to my attention: A cadre about to be transferred was promoted before his departure. According to information available to this writer, when a unit recently transferred one of its cadres to another unit, its cadre administrative section immediately went about the task of promoting him to the position of deputy section chief and submitting this proposal for approval by higher authorities; this unit has also received a newly appointed cadre from another unit, and [that cadre's] new position as deputy section chief had been approved shortly before his transfer.

Certainly this does not mean that cadres cannot be promoted before their transfer if they qualify for such promotion. But the fact is that most cadres who are hurriedly promoted before their transfer do not merit promotion. In other words, their promotion may be unnecessary. The two deputy section chiefs I mentioned earlier belong to this category of cadres.

Since their qualifications are not adequate, why should they be hurriedly promoted? When this writer discussed this problem with a leading comrade responsible for the employment of cadres, he said candidly: Cadres who are promoted prior to their transfer usually enjoy more advantages than cadres who are not. If a cadre in his forties remains a "plain soldier" after his transfer, he is certain to be rejected. Furthermore, personally speaking, we must do everything possible to give a satisfactory answer to their desire for grade promotion following so many years of service with our unit, so that they will be in a better position to deal with problems as soon as they are transferred to other units. This statement is not completely convincing.

The promotion of cadres must be based strictly on their qualifications, rather than on any other expedient considerations. Only by doing so can we pledge to ensure the quality of leading cadres. Using this rule as a prerequisite for promoting cadres is significant, in that it will improve the quality of leading cadres, increase their ability to deal with problems, and improve the efficiency of office work. To put a cap on the size of

leading cadres and to preserve an elite leading body are steps that will lead to the elimination of the dilatory style of work and bureaucratic ways of doing things. At present, some units have found their "officers out of proportion with their soldiers," and have received complaints from the masses about the incompetence of their cadres. This phenomenon results directly from their failure to promote cadres on the basis of qualifications.

Moreover, it is unwise to promote cadres reluctantly under the pretext that this will make them more presentable to recipient units, will make their transfer out of their units a success, and will make them "feel good." The party will give the masses a bad impression if it hurriedly promotes a cadre before he is ready for such promotion and if its leading cadres are nuts in the eyes of the masses. Relying on this method to throw unwanted cadres to other units is not an honest style of work cherished by communists, and is harmful to their growth. Those who take care of cadres must strengthen their sense of party character, uphold principles, and strengthen their sense of responsibility to the party. Only by so doing can we achieve success in building a contingent of cadres and regard this as a matter of prime importance that no one can ignore.

9574
CSO: 4005/26

PARTY AND STATE

ACHIEVEMENTS IN REVOLUTION, CONSTRUCTION REVIEWED

Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 17 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Shijun [7115 1102 6511]: "Lofty Ideal and Great Practice"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that it is absolutely necessary to educate party members and all advanced elements to truly want to "become communists." Since the day of its birth, our Communist Party has held high a banner emblazoned with the big characters: "Communism." During the past several years, however, under the disruptive impact and corrosive influence of the 10-year civil strife and bourgeois ideology, some people have lost interest in this "communist" banner and have even considered "communism" to be a pipedream. This idea is completely wrong.

Communism is the great ideal of humanity. More than 130 years ago, Marx and Engels pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto": "A specter is haunting Europe--the specter of communism." The bourgeoisie at that time called this thunderclap movement a "specter" and a "horrifying shadow." Later, "all the powers of old Europe entered a holy alliance in order to exorcise this specter." ("Communist Manifesto") ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 250) History, however, is relentless. Instead of "being exorcised," the "specter" of communism has gained momentum with each passing day, like a raging fire, and has ever since turned socialism--the initial stage of communism--into reality in many parts of the world.

Following 28 years of struggle, the Chinese communists won the new democratic revolution and founded the People's Republic of China at the cost of sweat and blood. Following 33 years of revolution and construction, they have again scored remarkable successes in developing socialist modernization. This fully indicates that the Chinese people have paid a high price for the realization of the communist ideal and for this great experiment, and the communist movement has won a great victory through practice. This fact has proved unfounded the saying that communism "is now shaken" to its foundations. Of course, the road we have traversed is only "the first step in the long march of 10,000 li." We must be aware that today we still remain in the stage of socialism or the initial stage of communism but are not yet in the final, ideal stage of communism. In other words, the road toward the realization of communism remains tortuous and long. But no matter how

tortuous and long the road ahead of us is, the realization of the communist ideal is only a matter of time that may cover several generations or more. This is a law governing the development of history--a law that no one can resist.

The 12th Party Congress is the most important conference that has ever been held since the Seventh Party Congress, and it is a new milestone on the road toward the realization of the four modernizations and communism. As long as we conscientiously implement the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, hold high the communist banner, and firmly believe in communism, "the Internationale can certainly be realized."

9574
CSO: 4005/26

PARTY AND STATE

FUJIAN RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM ON ZHENG CHENGGONG SUMMARIZED

Xiamen XIAMEN DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [UNIVERSITATIS AMOENSIS ACTA: SCIENTITARUM SOCIALUM] in Chinese No 3, 1982 pp 168, 160

[Article by Kong Dongwei [1313 0520 0251] and Zhang Ping [4545 1627]: "Summary of Fujian Province Research Symposium on Zheng Chenggong"]

[Text] In order to mark the 320th anniversary of Zheng Chenggong's repossession of Taiwan, Fujian Province held a research symposium on Zheng Chenggong at this university from 26 July to 1 August of this year. At the symposium over 100 Chinese and foreign scholars engaged in lively debates on matters such as Zheng Chenggong's repossession of Taiwan and his anti-Qing activities. Below is a summary of the major problems discussed:

1. Zheng Chenggong's Repossession of Taiwan. Participating comrades spoke highly of Zheng Chenggong's great achievement of ousting the Dutch colonialists, regaining Taiwan, and developing Taiwan. Some comrades emphasized that to a certain extent, Zheng Chenggong's repossession of Taiwan prevented the eastward progress of Western colonialists. It was advantageous for the development of Japan and Korea and had a positive influence on the development of the overseas Chinese economy. Thus he made a definite contribution to the historical development of Asia and the world. Some foreign scholars pointed out that Zheng Chenggong was not only an influential figure in Chinese history, but that he was also a 17th Century world figure. He played a decisive role in expanding world maritime trade and maritime armed forces.

As for Zheng Chenggong's motives for taking over Taiwan, some people believed that his primary motive was to seek a stable base area to continue his fight against the Qing government. Others thought that his motive was to safeguard the interests of maritime commercial groups. This implied that opposition to the Qing government was of secondary importance in regaining Taiwan. Still others believed that the primary motive consisted of the righteous cause of nationalism and of opposition to the invasion of Chinese territory by Dutch colonialists. Owing to the divergence of opinions concerning his motivation, there were also differences in assessments of it. Some comrades pointed out that in assessing a situation, one cannot look only at motivation, nor can one look only at results. It is important to consider results, but this must be linked up with motivation. In this way we can consider both his historical contribution and the limitations of his class status and of history.

2. Zheng Chenggong's Anti-Qing Activities. One view holds that in the early years of the Qing rule, because the Manchu aristocracy had implemented brutal policies that oppressed nationalities, Zheng Chenggong came to represent the interests of the Han people and of other minority nationalities in his opposition to Qing rule. It should be verified that he had the interests of all the people at heart. Another view holds that Zheng Chenggong represented the interests of maritime commercial groups in his opposition to the Qing government. Preserving and expanding his own influence was at the heart of his strategy all along. His opposition to the Qing government was neither resolute nor thorough. Still another view holds that Zheng Chenggong primarily represented the interests of the Han landlord class in his anti-Qing activities. He also objectively made known the demands of the masses. In addition, there were comrades who believed that after the Qing Dynasty basically united the country, continued opposition to the Qing Dynasty ran counter to historical trends.

As for the matter of Qing-Zheng peace talks, one view holds that the question Zheng Chenggong was considering was not whether or not he should capitulate but rather whether or not he could capitulate. His indecision was reflected in the peace talks. Another view holds that during the peace talks, Zheng Chenggong's stand was firm. The peace talks with the Qing government were a maneuver to gain time to replenish provisions and funds for troops and to expand his military strength. At the same time, they were also for the purpose of saving the lives of Zheng Zhilong and his relatives. Certain comrades questioned the opinions of Taiwanese scholars. They believed that Zheng Chenggong did not "walk into a trap" by participating in the Qing-Zheng peace talks, nor was the Qing side "manipulated" by Zheng Chenggong. During the process of the peace talks, both sides had successes and failures. In the limited view, Zheng Chenggong gained much and lost little, and in the overall view [the talks] were advantageous to the Qing government.

There were also differing opinions on whether or not Zheng Chenggong could be called a national hero for his opposition to Qing rule. Many comrades felt that opposing the Qing Dynasty was a just cause which reflected the demands of all nationalities. He could therefore be called a national hero. Some comrades believed that the reason why Zheng Chenggong is called a national hero is because he ousted the Dutch colonialists and recaptured Taiwan, and because his opposition to the Qing rule was partially confirmed. They believed that he should not, however, be called a national hero. The symposium launched a discussion on problems with the concept of national hero.

3. Economic Activities of the Zheng Clique. One view holds that maritime trade was a means used by Zheng Chenggong to solve the problem of sources for military supplies and funds. However, the role of maritime trade in Zheng's armed struggle against Qing rule cannot be overestimated. Another view holds that maritime trade was the major economic mainstay of the Zheng clique. By relying solely on "the righteous principle of loyalty to the sovereign," Zheng Chenggong found it difficult to wage a lengthy resistance against the Qing Dynasty. Xiamen became the base area of the Zheng clique in resisting the Qing rule, because at that time Xiamen was a major port for foreign trade. Some dissertations have researched the history of the rise and decline of the Zheng maritime commercial group. They were thus able to explain the fate of maritime traders in China's feudalistic society and the reasons why they were unable to develop fully. Quite a few comrades believed that Zheng Chenggong was the forerunner of putting the "mercantile" theory into practice and reaping the results.

4. Assessing Shi Lang, Zheng Jing, and Other Figures. Some comrades pointed out that even though Shi Lang had personal grievances against Zheng Chenggong, he nevertheless conquered Taiwan. This stemmed from the demands of the state and nationalities and was not done for personal revenge. Shi Lang took back Taiwan from the hands of the Zheng clique and unified the country. One could say that he was the unwitting collaborator and inheritor of Zheng Chenggong's cause. Others believe that even though Shi Lang made a definite contribution to conquering Taiwan and to the problem of keeping from forsaking Taiwan, his achievements should not be exaggerated. We cannot place them on a par with Zheng Chenggong's achievements. Shi Lang offered his services to go and take over Taiwan out of personal motives such as personal revenge, rendering a service to the sovereign, and a wish to show off his talent. We cannot believe that Shi Lang could do no wrong just because he conquered Taiwan.

In assessing Zheng Jing, some people believed that Zheng Jing's anti-Qing activities ran counter to the historical trend. In particular, his participation in the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories caused the character of the Zheng clique to change completely to one of feudal separatism. Furthermore, they believed that the Zheng clique's exploitation and oppression of the Taiwanese people became increasingly severe, prevented the social and economic development of Taiwan, and became an obstacle to national unification. Others believed that Zheng Jing was a figure who certainly influenced the history of Taiwan and the Chinese mainland. He both rendered meritorious service and committed some mistakes. He made a definite contribution to developing Taiwan and encouraging Taiwan's socioeconomic and cultural development. An essential distinction must be drawn between his taking advantage of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories to return to the mainland to oppose Qing rule and the armed rebellion of Wu Sankui and other separatist influences.

9864
CSO: 4005/30

PARTY AND STATE

BRIEFS

GUILZHOU CPPCC STANDING COMMITTEE--The 27th Meeting of the 4th Guizhou Provincial CPPCC Standing Committee was convened today in Guiyang. The major issues on the agenda are: to study the spirit of the documents of the 12th CPC National Congress, convey the spirit of the 20th meeting of the National CPPCC Standing Committee and discuss and decide on the date for calling the 5th session of the 4th provincial CPPCC and other related issues. The meeting will last 3 days. Today, a full session is being held by the committee members. The meeting is being chaired by Miao Chunting, chairman of the CPPCC 4th Guizhou Provincial Committee. Lu Zhenfan, member of the Standing Committee of the 5th CPPCC, conveyed the spirit of the 20th meeting of the 5th Standing Committee of the CPPCC in the session. Hui Shiru, Luo Dengyi, Yang Hanxian, Tang Hongren, Mao Tieqiao, Yuan Jiaji, Sun Hanzhang, Wang Leting, Li Xiagong, Zhu Yuru, He Peizhen, Jian Xianai, Wu Tongming and Zhang Chaolun, vice chairmen of the CPPCC 4th Guizhou provincial committee, appeared at this afternoon's meeting. Committee members of the CPPCC in our province, responsible persons of the united front department of the Guizhou CPC Provincial Committee, various democratic parties, the Federation of Trade and Industry, the provincial office for religious affairs and the Research Institute of Culture and History, the advisers of the provincial advisory office and responsible persons also attended the meeting this morning. There was group study this morning. [Text] [HK130837 Guiyang Guizhou Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Oct 82]

CSO: 4005/73

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

XINJIANG LEADERS AT CYL CONGRESS END CEREMONY

HK130655 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 12 Oct 82

[Text] The Sixth Xinjiang Regional CYL Congress came to a successful close in Urumqi this afternoon. The congress called on youths and CYL members of all nationalities in Xinjiang to conscientiously study and implement the 12th CPC National Congress spirit, hold high the great banner of communism and strive to be vanguards in building socialist spiritual and material civilizations and in creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization.

With the 12th CPC Congress spirit as its guiding principle, this congress summed up the work of the CYL in this region and, after discussion, set the tasks for the CYL work both at present and in the future. The sixth regional CYL committee and delegates to the 11th CYL National Congress were elected after repeated deliberations and democratic election, and a resolution was unanimously adopted on the work report of the Fifth Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional CYL Committee.

The closing ceremony was presided over by (Abdulla Hamudula), executive chairman of the Presidium. (Shi Congshu), member of the presidium gave the concluding speech. He required that CYL organizations at all levels in Xinjiang, under the leadership of the CPC committees, conscientiously study the 12th CPC congress documents, implement the 12th congress spirit in a down-to-earth manner, make unwavering efforts to arm the minds of the young people with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and unremittingly educate them in communist ideas so that the cadres and youths of all nationalities can be further united and work harder as vanguards in the building of the two socialist civilizations and in fighting for the realization of the party's general tasks in the new historical period. He said that CYL organizations at various levels must regard the "five stresses and four beauties" activity as a concrete effort in implementing the 12th party congress spirit, take immediate actions to carry it out uninterruptedly and make new contributions in achieving a fundamental change in social atmosphere.

Xinjiang regional party, government and CPPCC committee leaders as well as the PLA Urumqi units leaders Gu Jingsheng, Xiao Quanfu, (Huang Luobin), Bai Chengming, (Yang Hansheng), (Liu Zebai), (Zhou Yusheng), (Bu Wen), Yang Yiqing, Mayinur, (Liu Sichong), Liu Zimo, (Zeng Dizhu) and (Aziliefu Muhemaiti) attended the closing ceremony.

The Sixth Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Regional CYL Committee held a plenary session this afternoon. Members of the Standing Committee and secretary and deputy secretaries of this committee were elected. The Standing Committee consists of 11 members. (Hasimu Yiliqi) was elected secretary and the following were elected deputy secretaries (listed in the order of the number of strokes in their surnames): (Chi Tongxin), (Amudula Hamudula), (Yang Zhaoju) and (Fan Xingchu).

CSO: 4005/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WANG RENZHONG'S SPEECH TO LITERARY CIRCLES

HK211457 Beijing WENYI BAO in Chinese No 9, 7 Sep 82 pp 3-9

[Speech by Wang Renzhong delivered on 24 June 1982 at the Second Plenary Session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese Federation of Literature and Art Circles: "Unite and Compose More and Better Songs of the Triumph of Communism"]

[Text] Comrades:

Taking as its guideline the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" which was adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and centering round the task of correctly summing up the historical experience in literature and art, the Second Plenary Session of the Fourth National Committee of the Chinese Federation of Literature and Art has held extensive and thorough discussions. This is helpful for us to reach a common understanding to adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism with literature and art. In order to give better play to the role of literary and art workers throughout the country in building socialist spiritual civilization, the session has also formulated the "joint pledge of the literary and art workers." Undoubtedly, this will also be welcomed by the party and the people. Comrades, you have done a lot of work. Now, I would like to say something about my personal views. The topic I am going to take is: "United and compose more and better songs of the triumph of communism!"

The First Question: Portraying and Praising New Heroes

Last year, comrades of the central secretariat research office wrote a book entitled "People Who Compose Songs of the Triumph of Communism" which collated the deeds of people with advanced communist ideology on various fronts in our country. Their deeds are indeed inspiring. Comrade Deng Liqun wrote a forward for this book and I also have recommended it. From this book we can see that numerous new people with communist ideology have emerged in the great struggle for socialist modernization. They represent the main stream of our times and have set examples for tens of thousands of people. It is the most glorious task of socialist literature and art and the most noble duty of the broad masses of literary and art workers to portray and praise these new heroic people. Does

this mean the adovation of the theories of "subject matter determines everything" and "no conflicts?" Of course not. Subject matters of socialist literature and art have as wide a range as actual life and cannot be restricted within certain limits. Moreover, we have a rich history of over several thousand years standing, which includes the history of the people's struggle since the opium war, which needs to be [word indistinct] and described in the light of Marxism. However, as far as the nature and characteristics of socialist literature and art are concerned, writing about advanced people and collectives which are shining with brilliant communist ideology and praising new people and new things can only be the first and principal task. This is the demand set for us by our times.

We are living in a great era. We want to build a strong and modern socialist country with a highly developed civilization and democracy. This is an arduous and heroic undertaking unprecedeted in Chinese history. In promoting the development of this undertaking, tens of thousands of heroes and models will certainly be trained, new things, new idea, new customs and new habits will certainly defeat old things, old ideas and old customs and habits, and communist ideology will certainly and gradually become the dominant ideology of our society. It is only natural that socialist literature and art should fully reflect this great historical progress and strongly promote this great historical progress. Consequently, creating new heroes for a new era and educating the masses with communist ideas have naturally become the focus of our work. Can there be any doubt about this?

Advanced people with communist ideas and ethics are gradually trained in the course of study and struggle. It is impossible that they should be perfect. Besides, these advanced people are often suppressed and attacked by bureaucrats, [word indistinct] by people of the same generation who are fettered by old habitual forces, satirized by backward elements and even framed by bad people. The true, the good and the beautiful always exist side by side with the false, the vicious and the ugly and the former develop through struggle against the latter. Likewise, good people and good deeds also exist side by side with bad people and bad deeds, and the former develop through struggling against the latter. While portraying and praising heroic people, we unavoidably have to expose and criticize bad people and bad deeds. We cannot do one thing without doing the other. We firmly believe that all new things which reflect the objective demands of social development will eventually triumph over old things and old forces no matter what setbacks they may suffer. In the same way, the communist system which is the common and noble ideal of progressive human beings will also finally triumph over capitalism and gain victory throughout the whole world. This is an objective law independent of man's will. For some time, some innocent people have thought that developed capitalist countries are incomparably excellent. It would seem that these countries are a paradise on earth. How can this be true! This is because they do not understand the law of social development and do not understand the actual conditions of capitalist society. Today developed capitalist countries with the United States as their representative have met with various difficulties and impending crises. In

these countries, inflation and unemployment among workers are serious, crises occur one after another and internal contention is ever intensifying, contradictions between the monopolistic capitalist class and the broad, proletariat masses of the people and between the hegemonists and many countries have become more acute with each passing day. Even when some of these contradictions may temporarily be eased, more acute conflicts are being bred.

Recently, I read two novels entitled "Money Merchant" and "Motorcar Town" written by a Canadian writer Arthur Hailey. They give a relatively true but terrible picture of U.S. society. No representative figures from the bourgeoisie in the Western countries, including various kinds of advisers and brain trusts, can have any miraculous cure for these chronic maladies.

In capitalist society, the relationship between man and man is disgusting and is entirely an undisguised monetary relationship and a relationship of buying and selling, and the people there put profit before anything else and harm others to benefit themselves. There is no alternative for such a society except gradual destruction. On the other hand, although our society is still in the primary stage of communism and there are still many traces of the old society in it, it is full of vigor and the people in it have good faith in the future. Our works of literature and art must extract subject matters from life, arm the people's minds with the idea that communism will certainly triumph and capitalism will certainly die out and encourage them to struggle heroically for the socialist modernization of new China and for safeguarding world peace and human progress.

In order to build a new life and to train new people for socialism, we must, with great effort, publicize the communist ideology and carry out communist ethical education. In this respect, socialist literature and art cannot shirk their responsibilities and they have much to accomplish. On 21 June, RENMIN RIBAO carried an article entitled "We Must Advocate Communist Ethics" which put forward three communist ethical criteria: working irrespective of remuneration to serve the people, patriotism and internationalism. I think these criteria are necessary but two very important criteria should be added. 1) The idea of being masters. In our country, the people are masters of the country and the society. Therefore, we must be concerned with state affairs, actively participate in managing affairs of the state and the society and work with a sense of responsibility of masters. This is the duty and right of each citizen. It is precisely because of this that we advocate dedicating ourselves to socialist modernization in the spirit of being masters and combating acts harmful to the interests of the state and the collectives and combating various unhealthy trends. We should dare to step forward bravely to fight bad people and bad deeds and to make sacrifice including our lives to protect state and collective property and the interests of the people; 2) relationship of unity and mutual assistance from man to man. This includes the relationship between cadres and the masses, among the people and among family members. We should show concern for each other, love each other and help each other and we should show more concern for others than for ourselves. In order to help others, we should be willing to sacrifice our own interests and even our own lives. Comrade Guan Suxiang, who is present today, and some other people of the Yunnan Beijing opera troupe have been sending money

for the past 20-30 years without disclosing their names to support a lonely old man who is living far away from them in Beijing. Newspapers have also carried many examples of people who donated their parents' legacies and their personal income to the state, to areas afflicted by disasters and to people who are in difficulties. These are manifestations of the communist spirit. They have proved the bankruptcy of the selfish bourgeois outlook on life and revealed the fine relationship between men under the socialist system. Ideas such as "everyone for himself and the devil take the hindmost" and "subjectively for oneself but objectively for others" are all lingering sounds of the declining exploiting system and are incompatible with our socialist collectivism.

All honest and righteous literary and art workers must warmly praise in their works advanced people with communist ideology and style so that the latter will become familiar examples for the broad masses of the people to learn from and castigate in their work bad people and bad deeds which manifest decadent ideology of the exploiting classes so that they will be held contempt by the society. At present, ultraindividualism has again gained ground among some people in our ranks. This is a harmful trend which we must not overlook. We must strengthen communist ideological education to check this trend. We advocate that literary and art workers should compose more and better songs of the triumph of communism. This is precisely because we want to use the brilliant images of heroic people on various fronts and in the PLA to influence the broad masses of the people and to educate them with communist ideology so that they will strive to foster a communist outlook on life and a noble objective for life, resolutely resist the influence of the decadent bourgeois ideology and overcome various expressions of individualism and liberalism. In this way, the ideological level, ethical level and mental attitude of the whole society will be raised.

If you want to work with iron, you must be tough yourself. In order to successfully portray advanced people of communism, we literary and art workers must first of all improve our own ideology. It is impossible for a man with unhealthy ideology to portray typical characters with a beautiful soul. We must strengthen ideological and political work within the ranks of our writers and artists and advocate with great efforts ideas such as not seeking personal fame or gains, not fearing hardships or death, serving the revolution and the people heart and soul, and contributing to the beloved motherland and tens of thousands of compatriots and brothers spiritual products with advanced revolutionary ideology and the greatest artistic appeal. I hope that our comrades will restudy Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party" and "Combat Liberalism" and Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" and first arm ourselves with communist ideology so that we may influence, encourage, inspire and educate the broad masses of the people.

The Second Question: Study

In the past few years, a large number of new people have been added to our contingent of literary and art workers. They have brought vigor with them. However, unavoidably they also have shortcomings and weaknesses of which the principal

one is that they lack the necessary Marxist theoretical knowledge and the necessary tempering in a fiery life. This has to be urgently remedied through study. There are two ways for them to study. They should learn from books and they should learn from the society. We literary and art workers are to influence and educate people. Educators should first be educated and before one can be a teacher, one must first be a student. Each of our comrades, without exception, should continuously study and continuously advance.

First and foremost, we must study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and foster a communist world outlook. Communism is the most ideal social system of mankind. It is a revolutionary movement and at the same time an ideological and theoretical system. We must arm ourselves with a communist world outlook and correct our various erroneous ideas before we can correctly show others the way to advance. Only if we understand the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and have learned to use the stand, viewpoints and methods of Marxism-Leninism to observe everything, to analyze people and to analyze the relationship between man and his fellow man, can we see things accurately and profoundly. If we observe questions with the stand, viewpoints and methods of the bourgeoisie or petty-bourgeoisie, we will certainly confound right and wrong, stand facts on their heads and even take enemies for friends, sliding to an erroneous stand. The following situation once occurred in the literature and art circles. For example, there were writings which openly sympathized with imposters, degenerated people and even murderers. In the ideological circles, some people wrote articles openly suggesting that freedom of speech should be given to counter-revolutionaries and that we should allow them to publish their counterrevolutionary views in our newspapers. Absurd arguments and fallacies which in reality advocated democracy without centralization or democracy without dictatorship were even more in number. In March 1979, on behalf of the Central Committee, Comrade Deng Xiaoping launched the upholding of the four basic principles and the opposing of bourgeois liberalization. Immediately some people said that a policy of "restriction" had again been adopted and a "cold wave" was approaching. In December 1980, the editorial staff of some literary and art publications held a very erroneous meeting without the approval of departments responsible for the work. This meeting was a typical example of bourgeois liberalization. At this meeting, some party members violated party discipline and rules and censured the four basic principles. Later, they carried out unauthorized activities with the intention of shaking off the party's leadership over literary and art publications. May we not ask: Do these party members still remember Marxist-Leninist principles and the party character? This, together with the publication of "Unrequited Love" and the fanatic applause of some people, shows that the trend of bourgeois liberalization truly existed among some comrades in our literature and art circles before the national forum of the ideological front held in August 1981. In those days, this rightist deviation was a major deviation. Of course, this does not mean that we deny the mainstream of our work in literature and art. Since the third plenary session, achievements in literary and art work have been primary and most works and the list of plays are good or relatively

good and are beneficial to the people and to socialism. However, as far as social trends of thoughts are concerned, we cannot deny that this trend of bourgeois liberalization was indeed very serious before Comrade Xiaoping sounded once more the alarm in 1981. Of course, the "leftist" trend still exists and we must not slacken our vigilance. The reason why the Central Committee enjoined its propaganda department to convene the national forum on the ideological front was to overcome the situation of weak and slack leadership and to oppose and overcome the bourgeois liberalization trend. The aim of the forum was very clear. After the forum, a great change took place in literature and art circles. Through studying documents, most comrades in literature and art circles increased their understanding and corrected their views. Common understanding was reached and unity was strengthened. Most of those comrades who had committed mistakes made self-criticism of varying degrees and said that they would submerge themselves in the masses, familiarize themselves with new people and new things and write good articles that reflected the new era and new people. We have adopted a welcoming attitude toward all these comrades. The party has not punished any comrade who committed ideological or political mistakes but is willing to correct them. If we recall what happened during this period, we will see clearly that from the time Comrade Deng Xiaoping launched upholding the four basic principles to the time when bourgeois liberalization was once more criticized and weak and slack leadership was criticized, what occurred was not a "cold wave" at all but an out-and-out spring breeze. It is precisely the party's timely guidance that has made our literary and art work continue to develop along a correct orientation and become healthier and more flourishing. We are quite certain that as a result of laying this foundation, in the coming several years, various literature and art departments will produce even more excellent works and to contribute more to building our country into a strong and modern socialist country.

Historical experience has proved that it is improper to say in an oversimplified way that the social function of literature and art is to serve politics. However, socialist literary and art workers, especially those who are party members, are not separated from politics. We must seriously study the party's line, principles and policies and learn to look at problems in light of politics, that is, in light of the party and the people. The "resolution" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee has summed up the historical experience of the last 32 years or so and is the political basis for the people of the whole country to reach a common understanding. Our comrades in the literature and art circles must seriously study in light of their ideology and work and must truly make some questions clear. Otherwise, it will be mere empty talk to say that party members are politically in keeping with the Central Committee. Moreover, the revised draft of the "constitution" has been promulgated and the revised draft of the party constitution will also soon be transmitted. All of us must seriously study them and consciously observe the constitution and the party constitution. I think that the "joint pledge of the literary and art workers" which has been worked out at this meeting and comprises eight articles, is good. I hope that it will be seriously observed after it has been revised

and approved. If anyone persists in opposing this joint pledge, he should be solemnly criticized and punished. Comrades, the overwhelming majority of our literary and art workers are very resentful of unhealthy trends. This shows their fine political quality. While opposing the involvement of others in unhealthy trends, we must also ask if we are involved ourselves. Needless to say, some literary and art workers are also involved in various forms of unhealthy trends. We must also resolutely correct our own mistakes and must not tolerate them in the least. Otherwise, how can our work be convincing?

Besides studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the party's resolution and other documents, our literary and art workers must also study Chinese history and world history as well as having a basic knowledge of natural science. In particular, we must learn from objects which we are ready to portray. If we mainly write about factories, we must acquire some knowledge about industry. If we mainly write about rural areas, we must acquire more knowledge about rural areas. If you want to write about doctors and nurses, you must acquire some knowledge about medical and health work. Otherwise, how can we write good works? If we force ourselves to write about something which we are not familiar with, what we write will certainly be uninteresting and superficial or be filled with empty phrasology. Without relatively profound knowledge and rich experience in life, it is impossible for one to become a good writer. I hope that our comrades will go deep into the reality of life and among the masses. In particular, we must learn from advanced people and advanced collectives. We must learn from them their communist ideology and arm ourselves before we educate the masses.

At present, advanced people worthy of praise are many and we can praise them in various forms of literature and art. We can write about them in newsletters, short stories, and novels as well as in poems, plays and various forms of folk art. We can also reflect them in films, pictures and music. We have various approaches. We must learn in the course of participating in artistic activities and increase our ability to understand and to portray life. Only if we are familiar with advanced people can we write about them all. We must go beyond the small circles we are familiar with and go among seething activities of life. We must work and struggle together with heroic exemplary people who are creating history, acquire a deep understanding about their thoughts, life and activities as well as their experience, families and various social connections. The more thoroughly we understand them, the better we will be able to write. Only in this way will our portrayal of them be lifelike. The life of literature and art lies in truth. There should be no fabrication in newsletters no matter whether we are writing about good people and good deeds or bad people and bad deeds as well as contradictions among them. Basic plots must be true. In writing novels, plays and films, we may have artistic description of a more typical nature and rational fabrication on the basis of life is permitted. We must also advocate revolutionary realism or the integration of revolutionary realism with revolutionary romanticism in artistic creation. We should not forbid attempts to use other artistic forms.

We must also learn through the process of criticism and self-criticism. We must adopt a comradely attitude toward works which are not good and carry out criticism through sound reasoning. Publication units and producers should adhere to principles. They should prevent works whose social effects are actually not good from spreading and should not easily give the green light to them. They must be responsible to the people. Anything which is undoubtedly politically reactionary and ideologically harmful, no matter whether it is a literary writing, a film or a play, must be banned and cannot be published or shown. This is the demand of the broad masses of the people. Our cultural publication departments are held responsible for handling works of this kind. We must make sound judgments and ensure a good job is done. Of course, we must act according to law and pay attention to policies and discipline. No individual may ban plays or books at random. We must strengthen work in reviewing works of literature and art. Solemn literary and art criticism itself must be characterized by principle and theory and must proceed from reality, seek truth from facts and have sound reasoning. We must avoid exaggeration in criticism or commendation. Much less should we make groundless charges or blindly lavish praises. We must say yes for yes and no for no and must state our reasons for saying so. Literary and art criticism includes comradely advise. We must not indiscriminately and blindly "defend somebody against injustice" or "sympathize" with works or writers which are criticized. We must not forget that both correct criticism and correct commendation are strong supports for socialist literature and art. I once suggested to the Central Committee propaganda department that publications needed a good shake up. At present, there are too many literary and art publications and there is too much confusion among them. The quality of some of them is very poor and there is much duplication. Consequently, much of the state's paper and the readers' money, energy and time is wasted. We must carry out realistic investigations on them and straighten things according to the principle of putting quality first. Quantity must be based on quality. We oppose publishing them in a rough and slipshod way. Our writers and editors must always bear in mind that we must be responsible to readers, in particular to the broad masses of teenage readers. We must build socialist spiritual civilization and publicize with great efforts the communist ideology. First of all, we should study the question of quality of works, including the quality of ideological contents and artistic presentation. We must ensure good quality. The reason why we pay attention to quality is precisely to better implement the party's "double hundred" policy and promote the prosperity and development of our literature and art.

The Third Question: Strengthen Unity

It should be admitted that the phenomenon of disunity exists to a certain extent in our literary and art circles. This is not strange. It is because there is disunity that we call for the strengthening of unity. I think that there are mainly two reasons which cause disunity among some comrades in the literature and art circles. 1. They have different viewpoints. Comrade Mao Zedong said: We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. Why can we not unite as one? Although we may hold

different views we can surely reach a common understanding through placing problems on the table and discussing or debating them and through presenting facts and reasoning things out. If we still cannot reach a common understanding after doing so, we may report to party committees of corresponding levels and even to the Central Committee to ask for help. In case a contradiction cannot be solved for the time being, the two sides concerned should wait patiently and show "magnanimity." Within the revolutionary ranks and among revolutionary comrades, we should "set higher demand on ourselves" and be "lenient to others'" shortcomings and mistakes while adhering to principles. This is because, generally speaking, we have no differences in basic questions such as serving the people, serving socialism, uniting as one to build our country into a strong and modern socialist county and developing flourishing socialist literature and art. Of course, the differences we have mentioned here are differences in political questions and in questions concerning principles and policies. Regarding differences of an academic nature, I think we had such differences in the past and at present. We will have such differences even in communist society. This is something natural. We should discuss differences in academic questions and each may have his reservations without affecting unity and friendship among comrades. After heated discussions on different views at meetings, we should live in harmony as usual. Why can we not do this? Why should there be any personal feelings? Can people holding different views not become friends? Are they, without exception, to be enemies? Our general goal is the same and contradictions among us are mainly and only differences in understanding! We cannot regard differences in understanding as fault finding or personal attacks. How can we impose our views on others? I think that since we have taken on the mission of transforming the old world and building a new one, we should be magnanimous and should not hinder unity because of temporary differences in views. Much less should we set up factions and make unprincipled attacks.

2. Some of our comrades have selfish ideas and personal considerations. They seek fame or personal gain for themselves or for their factions and create contradictions. Impurity of party spirit and individualism are bound to impair unity. Comrades with these mistakes should consciously correct them. I hope that all literary and art workers seriously study two articles written by Comrade Chen Yun entitled "We Must Uphold Truth and Must Not Stress Face-Saving" and "On Two Tendencies of the Party's Literary and Art Workers." We should meet the requirements put forth by him, put subordinating oneself to truth in the first place, put aside personal gain or loss and honor or disgrace and earnestly carry out criticism and self-criticism. Comrade Chen Yun stated that writers and artists who are party members must first and foremost remember that they are party members. This is very important. Up to now, this is still of much significance. A writer who is a party member must first meet the requirements of a qualified party member and must never regard himself as a special party member. Of course, no senior leading cadres should regard himself as a special party member either and no party member should feel self-important.

The unity we talk about is unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought and on the basis of determining to implement the party's line, principles and policies. It is not unity at the expense of principles. Superficial unity which does not draw clear distinctions concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong is not real unity which we communists seek. If we do not draw clear distinctions concerning cardinal issues of right and wrong, we will not be able to uphold truth, correct mistakes or to push our work ahead. Party members in the literature and art circles must properly participate in activities of party organization and often carry out necessary and appropriate criticism and self-criticism. At present, there exists a tendency which is not good. It seems that if we criticize a comrade we are finding fault with him and someone will step forward to take up the cudgels for the criticized and blindly defend him. This phenomenon is abnormal and this attitude is not correct. Of course, if the criticized comrade is in the right and if those who criticize him are in the wrong, you have the right to defend him and you have the duty to speak. This is to defend truth. However, when a person has obviously committed a mistake and has brought losses to the party and the people, the party organization criticizes him and even punishes him because it wants to educate and save him. What right have we to defend him? Are we not doing harm to him if we do so? For example, Comrade Yi Wenfu, who is a party member, has published a lot of politically harmful views. Is it not right to criticize him? The purpose of criticizing him and even giving him appropriate punishment is to make him become more modest in future, study seriously, increase his sense of responsibility as a proletarian vanguard, overcome his arrogance, conceit, individualism and mentality of seeking personal fame and gains and strive to become an excellent writer. What is wrong with this? If we see a literary and art worker has committed a mistake and is sinking deeper and deeper in the quagmire and if we do not carry out necessary ideological struggle with the desire of achieving unity and sound the alarm so that he may see his mistake but take a laissez-faire attitude instead, we are not doing him any good.

Finally, I would like to add that we must continue to wage the struggle on two fronts, that is, continue to eliminate the pernicious influence of "leftist" ideas and to oppose rightist ideas. We must act according to facts. We must oppose either "leftist" or rightist ideas, whichever may emerge. There are mistakes which are caused by neither "leftist" or rightist ideas, for example, violating law and discipline and engaging oneself in unhealthy trends. How can we say whether they are caused by "leftist" or rightist ideas? Unhealthy trends, violation against law and discipline and liberalism are nothing else but respectively unhealthy trends, violation against law and discipline and liberalism. We must call them according to what they actually are and must not rashly label them as being "leftist" or rightist. In assessing a literary and art work, we must judge by its ideological and artistic aspects and make realistic analysis. Usually we must not use the concept of being "leftist" or rightist. Only if it involves the general political trend and involves the party's line, principles and policies should we consider making use of these terms and we must use them accurately when they are used.

Comrades, socialism and communism are a just cause and will inevitably triumph in the end. We literary and art workers are staunch fighters who have dedicated their lives to this magnificent and glorious undertaking which is unprecedented in human history. Under the correct leadership of the CPC, we will certainly be able to continuously raise our ideological level and artistic level and make greater contributions to building our country into a strong and modern socialist country.

CSO: 4005/75

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' INTERVIEWS WRITER WANG MENG

HK131221 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 1 Oct 82 p 2

[Article by GUANGMING RIBAO reporter Jin Tao [6855 3447]: "Scaling the Heights of Spiritual Civilization--Interviewing Writer Wang Meng, a Newly Elected Alternate Member of the 12th CPC Central Committee"]

[Text] In a unit on the 8th floor of a high-rise building, the famous writer Wang Meng, a newly elected alternate member of the 12th CPC Central Committee, spoke glowingly of his feelings on attending the 12th National Party Congress to this reporter.

The name Wang Meng is not an unfamiliar one to many readers who love literature. During the 1950's, this young and gifted writer began to show his talent in the world of letters through a short story entitled "A Young Man From the Organization Department." However, it was also because of this short story that he was unjustly treated. Over the past few years, with the arrival of the spring of literature and art, he has applied his energetic vigor, keen observation, deep thoughts and his novel and bold artistic techniques to produce many heartening works. The major points of the keynote of his works are: seeking the true, the good and the beautiful; and striving to explore beautiful things in daily life and in the people's hearts. His works have therefore exerted a tremendous influence upon the literary circles.

Joy and Confidence

As a writer, Wang Meng has shown deep thoughts and feelings about drastic changes in life. He was excited when he talked about the changes. Wang Meng said: "We may say that the world of literature and art has been snatched from the jaws of death. The "gang of four" turned literature and art into a desert. As a result, writers and artists were seriously persecuted, and all the plays, novels and films were labeled as a sinister line of literature and art. Following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and after the discussions on regarding practice as the criterion of truth, leftist mistakes made over the years including many leftist mistakes within the literary and art circles have been corrected, thus taking the iron lid off the literary and art circles. The most prominent thing is still the redressing of many miscarriages of justice and misjudged cases within the literary and art circles. This redressing has

liberated the productive forces of the literary and art circles. This result can be seen most clearly among writers." After this, Wang Meng switched the subject of his talk to the 12th National Party Congress. He told this reporter that during the 12th National Party Congress, he learned that many representatives of the literary and art circles were at the congress such as Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Zhang Guangnian and Ouyang Shan, veterans of the literary and art circles; He Jingzhi from Beijing; Lu Yanzhou from Anhui and Du Pengcheng from Shaanxi. After associating the presence of these people with his own election to an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee, he said: "Although I am nothing special as a person, all this shows that the central authorities attach importance to literature and art and show loving care for the vast numbers of literary and art workers. This also shows that the new prospects for literary and art work as opened up by the third plenary session will continue to exist."

Our Writers' Glorious Duty

After that Wang Meng discussed the duty of every literary and art worker to participate in the great cause of opening up new prospects for socialist modernization.

He held that literary and art workers must work hard for building socialist spiritual civilization and that they must conscientiously bring their work into the orbit of building socialist spiritual civilization.

Wang Meng said: "We can do a lot of things in this respect. This is because literary and art works can influence the people's sentiments, tastes and spiritual state." He noted: Over the past few years, there has been an increase in the number of literary and art publications and more and more films, plays, songs, novels and poems have emerged. These are good phenomena. Many of them are also good works. "However, there is no need for reticence on the fact that some works really do not show any high spiritual state or good taste." Wang Meng added: "Literary and art works play a great role in improving the people's spiritual state and in fostering lofty values. Therefore, writers must first deepen their own understanding and constantly improve themselves in the field of political ideology, cultural training and scholarly attainments. Scientists must scale the heights of science and technology and we writers must scale the heights of spiritual civilization including the heights of communist ideology and morality and the heights of cultural knowledge."

Speaking of our writers' duty Wang Meng felt that it is imperative to attach importance to the issue of showing loving care for and helping those youths who love literature and our young writers who are constantly emerging. Being imbued with enthusiasm, Wang Meng said: "I am now a middle-aged man. I think that the existence of so many Chinese youths loving literature is rare in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere. They are all good youths who have plenty of brains, keep forging ahead, love thinking and have great talent. (Of course, this does not mean that youths who do not love literature are not like that. Relatively young writers have been constantly emerging over the past few years. They are the hope of our country's literature." Wang Meng

candidly said: Some of these youths will in the future engage in literary creation and literary criticism. However, the great majority of them will play their role in other fields. Having a youthful spirit and being sensitive to things are their characteristics. However, due to the fact that generally speaking, they do not have much, or only have little, elementary knowledge of Chinese society, Chinese history, Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, their works contain relatively more descriptions of uncertainty, depression and vacillation. And a very few of their works create a value vacuum, show no sense of value, lack the criteria of ideals and morality, and depict the spiritual state of young people's personal struggles that are characterized by unscrupulousness. It is worthwhile to attach importance to these conditions. That is because these conditions not only affect the future of literature but also affect the future of our country. With regard to this issue, Wang Meng said: "It is imperative to show more loving care for and give more assistance to young people of this generation. More comrades should show concern for them, be their friends and assist them in opening up new prospects for their study, livelihood and work." He held that showing loving care for youths engaged in literature always means showing loving care for a generation of capable youths.

Constantly Seeking and Constantly Trying To Find Out

Wang Meng said: In reflecting real life and in carrying out the practice of art that benefits the building of socialist spiritual civilization, literature and art can never deviate from the guiding principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend during a free contest of art. Speaking of his plan for producing literary work, he said: "My personal ability is limited. However, in the field of the exploration of art, I am willing to constantly seek and to constantly try to find out things new so as to offer more means of artistic expression, more means of narration and more means of expression. After making some previous explorations, I have formulated this preliminary plan: I shall center my attention on characters, plots and description of psychological factors. I shall also try to produce some peripheral works such as fantasy, and humoristic, satirical, symbolic and metaphorical works." He said that he will also constantly open up new themes. He added: "All my previous produced works are related with historical experiences and lessons. From now on, I shall reflect more new contradictions and changes and more spiritual explorations made by the people during the new period."

Wang Meng is currently a member of the secretariat of the Chinese Writers Association, a vice chairman of the Beijing Municipal Writers Association, deputy head of the China Pen Center and a member of the editorial board of RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE]. He told this reporter that he will soon leave for the municipal suburbs and army units to observe and learn from real life. He said: "To me, plunging into the thick of life does not mean gathering source material with an attitude of being eager for quick success and instant benefit. My plunging into the thick of life is aimed at widening my field of vision, attentively listening to the pulse of our times, regarding life as a whole, observing changes in and trends of life and enriching my experience and understanding of life."

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON TAIPING HEAVENLY KINGDOM

HK141438 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 82 p 3

[Article by Fang Zhiguang [2455 0037 0342]: "On the Strategic Gains and Losses of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom After Making Nanjing Its Capital"]

[Text] Not long after its army captured Nanjing, the Taiping heavenly kingdom decided to make Nanjing its capital on 19 March 1853 and called it Tianjing. Then it started an expedition to the east and captured Zhenjiang and Yangzhou on 31 March and 1 April, respectively. After that, the Taiping heavenly kingdom stopped going from place to place and fighting battles as it went. Strategically, it entered a stage of building base areas--"appointing officers and entrenching themselves."

Thirteen days after the Taiping army captured Nanjing, over 16,000 Qing soldiers led by imperial envoy Xiang Rong, who had followed the Taiping army from Guangxi, arrived in Nanjing and stationed themselves at Shazigang (later at Xiaolingwei), 20 li east of the city. Their camp was called the Great Jiangnan Camp. In the middle of April, imperial envoy Qi Shan and military affairs assistant Chen Jinshou also led some 17,000 Qing soldiers to Yangzhou, stationing themselves at Leitangji and Maoerdun outside the city. Their camp was called the Great Jiangbei Camp.

Being surrounded in Tianjing by the Qing army in the north and the south, leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom should have concentrated their armed forces to annihilate the two camps of the Qing army in the north and the south in order to remove the fear of disturbance in the rear before attempting to capture other places. However, Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing did not think in this way. Ignoring the two camps of Qing soldiers which were near at hand, they rashly made the northern and western expeditions in May.

Regarding the strategic orientation of the leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom after making Tianjing as their capital, different views have existed for a long time in history circles. As early as the second year after the fall of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, Augustus F. Lindley, an Englishman, had already commented on this. He admitted that "the capture of Nanjing entirely changed the strategy of the heavenly king." But he also said: "It did not follow up its victory with hot pursuit of the panic-stricken Qing army and annihilate it,

but stayed in Nanjing to make it its capital instead." "This was indeed a fatal mistake." ("Personal Experiences in the Revolution of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," pp 114-115) According to what Lindley thought, Hong Xiuquan and the others should have adhered to the correct mobile strategy of the Jintian uprising--"pressing on without letup until they captured Beijing, abandoning one city after capturing it" or "abandoning Nanjing and concentrating their forces on the southern provinces of Guangdong, Guangxi, Guizhou and Fujian." After the founding of new China, some comrades in the history circles agreed with Lindley's view and held that it was a serious strategic mistake to make Tianjing a capital. However, other comrades did not agree with the foregoing traditional conclusion and held that we should not confuse making Tianjing a capital with the strategic decisions made afterward. Thus, this involves the question of how to correctly assess the question of making Tianjing the capital of the Taiping heavenly kingdom and the question of its strategy afterward, that is, why the Taiping heavenly kingdom made the strategic decision of dividing its armed forces to launch the northern and western expeditions instead of attacking the Qing army's Jiangnan and Jiangbei camps.

Why did Hong Xiuquan, Yang Xiuqing and other leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom decide to divide their armed forces to launch the northern and western expeditions instead of attacking the two Qing army camps in the vicinity after they made Tianjing their capital? Recently, I read a passage describing how a French jesuit named Clavelin embarked on the warship "Cassini" and visited the generals of the Taiping army on 6 January 1854. This passage can help us a lot in trying to understand the above question.

It tells how a general of the Taiping heavenly kingdom replied to Clavelin's question on religion. "He told us that Hong Xiuquan was a pious believer. He liked to think independently and to find out the will of heaven, particularly when he was in difficulty. Whenever he met with difficulties, he would stay away from others and try to think of what measures he should take. After offering prayers, he would say: 'Heaven has enlightened me in this way.' Sometimes he would say: 'Heavenly Father or Jesus has come to enlighten me in this way.' As a matter of fact, the decisions he made often led to successes. No wonder the ignorant masses of people believed that he had really seen the Heavenly Father. For example, many leaders here wanted to attack the Qing army stationed outside the city and went to ask Hong Xiuquan to do so. After offering his prayer, Hong Xiuquan replied: 'Just now, heaven has enlightened me thus: let the Qing soldiers here fritter away their energy in idleness. Moreover, our picked troops are in the north at present. If we attack our enemy now, the Miasma of these devils will be blown to the north. We will surround them in the future. The kingdom of the devils will be completely destroyed.' At present, we all believe this will be so in the future." (See Jian Youwen's "The History of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 1, p 537)

Clavelin followed French enby Alphonse de Bourboulon on his visit to Tianjing. They embarked on the warship "Cassini" in Shanghai on 30 November 1853 and arrived at their destination on 6 December. On the following day, accompanied by Bourboulon's secretary Gu Si and interpreter Mr Ma, they met with

Huang Yukun and Lai Hanying. On the 10th, he went with Bourboulon and others to meet Dingtianhou Qin Rigang. That evening, Clavelin remained behind, staying there for 1 night and 2 days. Since he had a good command of Chinese, he was able to gather a lot of information from the generals of the Taiping heavenly kingdom. It is probable that Clavelin learned from Huang Yukun, Lai Hanying or Qin Rigang the recorded conversations concerning Hong Xiuquan mentioned above. Its truth is unquestionable.

This recorded material tells us that there were three reasons why Hong Xiuquan did not attack the Qing army camps which were nearby: he wanted to "let the Qing soldiers fritter away their energy in idleness." He wanted to divide the enemy forces so that "the Miasma of the Qing army would not be blown to the north." The main forces of the Taiping army were in the north and he lacked strength for attacking the two Qing army camps.

Comparing relevant records of the Qing government, I consider that the foregoing reasons why Hong Xiuquan did not attack the great Jiangnan camp and the great Jiangbei camp before sending his troops on the northern and western expeditions are basically reliable.

On 31 March 1853, the second day after he and the Qing soldiers led by him arrived in Tianjing, Xiang Rong learned that troops of the Taiping army "had already gone to Zhenjiang by water and captured it" and that other troops "had gone north to the Yangzhou area via Guazhou." He immediately proposed to Emperor Xianfeng an "attack" on Tianjing "to which reinforcements would certainly be sent" in order to check the Taiping army's advance to the east and the north. This was a strategy of "surrounding the Wei Kingdom to save the Zhao kingdom." On 17 April, Emperor Xianfeng agreed to Xiang Rong's proposal in the imperial edict saying that since the Taiping army "has divided its forces to harass Yangzhou, Zhenjiang and other places, the strength of the bandits entrenched in Nanjing and its vicinity is weakened and we can seize the opportunity to attack it. ...In short, if the attack and suppression in areas south of the Changjiang River is successful, the bandits will be prevented from harassing the north." Obviously, in those days, the Qing government tried to attack Nanjing in order to check the Taiping army's advance to the east and the north. On 22 June, a month after the Taiping army sent its troops on the northern and western expeditions, Xiang Rong discovered that the purpose of the Taiping army sending its troops in different directions to harass various localities was "to divide our forces so that we cannot concentrate them on attacking Nanjing." Four days later, Xiang Rong gave an even clearer answer to why the Taiping heavenly kingdom did not attack the two Qing army camps. He said: "The ringleaders attempt in vain to entrench in Nanjing, send their troops to harass various localities in order to divide our forces, tenaciously defend his positions in order to exhaust our soldiers and prolong the confrontation to shorten our military supplies. He is afraid that once the major troops are shifted, he will find it difficult to maintain his half of the country in the south and the east." This means that according to Xiang Rong, the reason why the leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom were not eager to destroy the great Jiangnan camp and the great Jiangbei camp after making Tianjing their

capital but "sent our their troops in separate detachments to harass Anhui and Henan in the north and Jiangxi in the south" ("Xiang Rong's Drafts of Memorials to the Throne," "The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 7) was to "tire out our troops" and to "divide our forces." This is basically the same as those mentioned by Hong Xiuquan for not being eager to attack the two Qing army camps.

Viewed from the military practice of the Taiping heavenly kingdom after making Tianjing its capital, the strategy of Hong Xiuquan and others of dividing up their troops to make the northern and western expeditions before attacking the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp, to a certain extent, played the role of slackening the enemy's vigilance, dividing the enemy forces and tiring out the enemy troops, which helped to attain part of their strategic goal.

When the northern and western expeditionary troops triumphantly entered Henan and Jiangxi provinces, the Qing emperor sighed in despair that he was short of troops. He said: "Most of our picked troops of the north route are along the north and south banks of the Changjiang River. If we do not capture the three cities (Nanjing, Zhenjiang and Yangzhou) as quickly as possible, how can we have troops to reinforce Henan Province?" As a matter of fact, Xiang Rong had already sent General Qu Tend and his soldiers of the great Jiangnan Camp to intercept and suppress the Taiping troops in Henan and had sent General Deyinbu and his soldiers "to reinforce Jiangxi." Consequently, "military strength becomes weaker and the shortage of troops becomes more serious as a result of dividing the armed forces." Although Xiang Rong held that the Taiping army "intends to divide our armed forces by harassing various localities in order to delay our attack on the cities and that we will be tricked if we send troops to chase them," ("The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 7) he was nevertheless led by the nose by the Taiping army. As a result, "the Qing soldiers became exhausted and were short of supplies."

Thanks to making Tianjing its capital and the northern and western expeditions, the Taiping heavenly kingdom prevented the Qing troops in the north from advancing toward the south and controlled a section of the Changjiang River from the Zhenjiang River to Jiangxi Province so that "ships can navigate freely carrying with them ample supplies to the bandits and enhance their morale!" ("A General Plan for Suppressing the Guangdong Bandit," Vol 57) Xiang Rong said that the number of Qing soldiers sent by the great Jiangnan Camp to fight in other places by February 1854 was "no more than 5,000-6,000." "In his memorial to the throne on 2 October, he said that this strategy of the Taiping heavenly kingdom leaders was to "tire out our soldiers and cause us to be short of supplies." "On the other hand, they can send their troops out in all directions to attack various localities. After they have captured a town or city, they entrench there. In this way, our forces are dragged along by them while these bandits can remain safely in places they have captured. This is why the bandits always have more soldiers than they need, whereas we do not have enough." ("The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom," Vol 7) Eventually, the Taiping heavenly kingdom concentrated its forces and smashed the great Jiangbei Camp and the great Jiangnan Camp in March and June 1856, respectively. The Taiping army's success in smashing the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp was inseparable from the strategy of Hong Xiuquan and others of slackening the enemy's vigilance, tiring out the enemy's soldiers and dividing

the enemy's forces. On 28 July 1856, Zhejiang provincial Governor He Guiqing said in his memorial to the throne: the great Jiangnan Camp "has become weaker and weaker as more and more soldiers are being sent to other places. I learned that when Xiang Rong first arrived there, he had nearly 20,000 soldiers but now he has no more than several thousand." In his posthumous memorial to the throne, Xiang Rong summed up the causes of the doom of the camps and said: "The bandits joined their forces together, whereas we separated ours. Our failure was deep-seated." This fully shows that after Hong Xiuquan and others made Tianjing their capital, they did not attack the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp immediately but started the northern and western expeditions, because they wanted to divide the enemy forces and tire out the enemy soldiers.

British consul T. T. Meadows held that "the purpose of the Taiping heavenly kingdom's northern expedition at that time was not to mount a large-scale offensive against Beijing but to try to divide up the military strength of the Qing government in the north and to prevent the Qing troops from coming down to the south in great numbers. The expeditionary troops were only a detachment for holding up the enemy forces. Therefore, the northern expedition was a success--it fulfilled the task of holding up the enemy forces." (Meadows: "The Chinese and Their Rebellions," p 181)

Meadows said that the Taiping heavenly kingdom's troops on the northern expedition were only a detachment for holding up the enemy forces and that the target of the expedition was not to capture Beijing but solely to divide the enemy's strength. Evidently, this is not completely in conformity with historical facts. However, I think that objectively speaking, Meadows had some grounds for saying that the northern expeditionary army "divided the strength of the Qing army in the north, preventing it from coming down to the south in great numbers." Zhang Dejian, who collected intelligence about the Taiping army for Zeng Guofan, said: the Taiping army "regards Nanjing as its stronghold and launched false offensives in the north. It actually obtains supplies from vast areas in Jiangsu, Anhui, Hubei and Jiangxi. It does not forget Hunan either. Its attention to the upper reaches is similar to that of a baby eager to be fed." ("Zhang Dejian: 'A Collection of Information About the Bandits'") This is clear proof.

However, viewed from the overall strategic situation, it was obviously a serious mistake that after Hong Xiuquan and others made Tianjing their capital, they started the northern and western expeditions instead of smashing the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp, which placed them in a passive situation.

After making Tianjing its capital, the Taiping heavenly kingdom had four major armies at that time: one was entrenched in Nanjing and the other was defending Zhenjiang and Yangzhou, which were to the east of Tianjing. The third was on the northern expedition and the fourth was on the western expedition. Each army consisted of 20,000-30,000 soldiers, and the total number of soldiers it had

amounted to about "100,000." The first two armies were for defending its capital, Tianjing, against the enemy troops in the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp. Hong Xiuquan's instructions for the northern expeditionary army were: "Take the shortest route and try to reach Beijing as quickly as possible. Avoid delays caused by attempts to capture cities." ("Draft of the Qing History," biography of Hong Xiuquan) The strategic target was to capture Beijing, and the mobile war principle of abandoning each city after capturing it, a principle which had been adhered to since the Jintian uprising, was concretely adopted. The western expeditionary army was to be on the offensive as well as on the defensive and its strategic target was to "open up new territories." It was to capture Anhui, Jiangxi, Hubei, Hunan and Sichuan in order to consolidate the base 'with Nanjing as its center' on the southern bank of the Changjiang River.

Viewed from the military practice in the 3 years after Tianjing was made a capital, although the strategy adopted by Hong Xiuquan and others also put the Qing army in a passive position, it brought them serious setbacks in the revolutionary cause. The northern expeditionary army committed the mistake of belittling the enemy and of rashly advancing into the enemy's rear, which was far from its base. It was not able to obtain reinforcement and, finally, was completely annihilated in May 1855. After he was captured, Li Xiucheng summed up the "ten mistakes" which brought about the fall of the Taiping heavenly kingdom, of which three were related to the failure of the northern expedition. He "regarded" Li Kaifang and Lin Fengxiang's defeat and death in the northern expedition as "a major mistake." After the defeat, the Taiping heavenly kingdom was never able to make another northern expedition.

In the beginning, one victory was won after another in the western expedition. Later, as a result of dividing up the troops for entrenchment, the expeditionary army became weaker and weaker. It suffered serious setbacks after the defeat in the Xiangtan battle on 1 May 1854. Towns and cities of great military importance on the upper reaches of the Changjiang River, including Wuchang, fell into the enemy's hands one after another. It was not until January 1855, when Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing sent the Yi prince, Shi Dakai, from Tianjing with relief troops to the west, that victories were again won. It can thus be seen that the western expedition was both a mistake of rashness and conservatism.

The eastern war zone, including Yangzhou, Zhenjiang and Tianjing, had all along been surrounded by the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp of the Qing army. Obviously, a conservative mistake of passive defense was committed. At the end of 1853, the Taiping heavenly kingdom abandoned Yangzhou in order to reinforce the northern expedition. Later, troops from the western front were again transferred to recapture Yangzhou. Clearly, the Taiping heavenly kingdom found it hard to cope with the situation. In February 1855, after the failure of the small sword society in Shanghai, the Qing army intensified its encirclement of Zhenjiang and Tianjing and the situation became more and more desperate. Again, Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing sent for Shi Dakai and Qin Rigang, with the main force from the western front, to save the situation. Only then were the two army camps of the Qing Dynasty, which had surrounded Tianjing for over 3 years, smashed respectively in March and June 1856. However, Zeng Guofan's Hunan army in Nanchang, which had been trapped, escaped.

That the Taiping heavenly kingdom made Tianjing its capital was an important change of its strategy in the early stage. During the process of this change, Hong Xiuquan and Yang Xiuqing put an end to their former warfare and adopted the principle of fighting wars with the support of rear areas. We should say that this was basically correct. However, after making Tianjing its capital, the Taiping heavenly kingdom immediately carried out the northern and western expeditions. Although certain anticipated results were made, the losses obviously outweighed the gains if viewed from the overall strategic situation. If, after making Tianjing their capital, the leaders of the Taiping heavenly kingdom had concentrated their forces on annihilating the great Jiangnan Camp and the great Jiangbei Camp before making the northern and western expeditions, the development of the situation would have been greatly different.

CSO: 4005/72

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES REEXAMINED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 5 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Chen Wutong [7115 2745 2717]: "Correctly Handle our Country's Historical Wars Between Minority Nationalities and Various Han Nationality Dynasties"]

[Text] For a long time Chinese historical research on classical literature and literary works based on history were dominated by one major theme that all minority nationalities and their states located outside the borders of the various historical Han nationality dynasties of the central plains were "alien nationalities" or "foreign states"; that the wars they fought with those dynasties were "foreign aggression against China"; and that the rule over the central plains by a minority nationality was a "foreign invasion." This theme calls for reexamination.

I

To regard the minority nationalities as "alien nationalities" and "foreign states" is to equate the Han nationality or the various dynasties of the central plains with historical China, and to confine the historical boundaries of our country in the domains of the various dynasties of the central plains. This is a mistake which has arisen from conceptual confusions in the definitions of nationality and state, and a lack of distinction between the ancient and contemporary implications of "state" and "China."

According to Marxist principles, a nationality is a community whereas a state is a tool of class domination. The difference between the two is very clear. A state "identifies its citizens by means of geographical divisions." "Every state depends on the domiciles of its citizens to organize them" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 4 pp 166, 167). A nationality is identified with a specific region during its formative stage. After that, its members for economic or other reasons do not always remain in the same region, and often move to other localities which eventually become heterogeneous nationality regions. In a homogeneous state, there is no distinction between state and nationality. The distinction exists in a heterogeneous state. Citing Europe as an example, Engels said, "In every European country, there is, as a rule, one government in control of many nationalities." "The boundaries of a state do not agree with the natural or language boundaries of the nationalities" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels" vol 16 pp 175, 176). Our country

has been a multinationality state where the Han and other minority nationalities have lived together since antiquity without any distinct boundaries between them. Historically, no attempt had ever been made to redefine the boundaries of the country to agree with the domain of a nationality which had gained control of the state power. The domain ruled by the Shang Dynasty included the Man (tribes in southern China), the Yi (tribes in east China), the Rong (tribes of west China) and the Di (tribes of north China) which owed allegiance to it. "The Man, the Yi, the Rong and the Di still mingled with others in the interior" during the Spring and Autumn Period (Gu Jiangao: "Table of Major Events of the Spring and Autumn Period" 39, Introduction to "Tables of the Four Distant Tribal Groups"). The Qin Dynasty which destroyed the 6 kingdoms and established 35 prefectures which later expanded to 42 had within its domain large parts of the eastern Yi, the southern Man, the northern Di, and the western Rong, plus many minority nationalities who had settled down on the central plains.

During the time of the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Xiongnu (Han) founded their own state in the north after defeating 26 other states, including the eastern Hu; the Yuezhi to their west; the Kingdom of Henan at Loufan and Baiyang to their south; the Hunyu, Qushe, Dingling, Gekun, and Xinli to their north; and Yuzhi, Loulan, Wusun and Hujie. Thus, they controlled a multitude of nationalities. When the Han Dynasty replaced the Qin Dynasty, it extended its territory by chasing away the Hun in the north, defeating the Yues to the south, reaching out for central Asia, developing the Ordos region, and establishing prefectures for the Yi in the southwest. This brought more nationalities under its control. All the subsequent dynasties of the central plains and the states which bordered minority nationalities had, without exception, many nationalities within their respective borders. In a word, our country has been a multinationality state since antiquity.

The state, the product of a class society, changes in nature and scope as history develops and changes. A "state" in ancient China signified a state power based on slavery or feudalism and did not include all the nationalities and territory of China at that particular time. The fact that the characteristic economic self-sufficiency of the feudal society leads to inevitable political decentralization and separatism and that the various nationalities do not develop at the same pace explain why our country had, since the Qin Dynasty, an autocratic centralized feudal state, on the one hand, and a certain degree of feudal separatism in some areas, on the other. In time of unity, the regional political regimes of the minority nationalities still existed in distant bordering areas where the authority of the central plains dynasty could not reach. In time of dissension, the separatist regimes of these nationalities multiplied and proclaimed themselves "kings" or "states." These regimes have been known as "states" no matter whether they were unitary or regional, in the central plains or at the bordering areas, big or small in size and population. The nature of such precapitalist "states" differs from our contemporary concept of a "state" which denotes a country composed of various regional nationalities with a unified government, a unified system of law, unified national interests and a unified tariff system. This kind of state as we understand now is a product of the economic development of escalating capitalism. Our country did not become a state in this contemporary sense until the downfall the Qing Dynasty.

The ancient and contemporary implications of the term "China" (Central Kingdom) are different. In ancient times "China" did not imply a state. Every dynasty had its own reigning title and none had ever included "China" as a part of that title. At that time "China" was only a geographical and cultural concept the implications of which kept evolving as time went on. It generally referred to the royal capital at the time of both the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. It became a term to denote the central plains where the feudal kingdoms and principalities were during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods. Since the days of the Qin and Han Dynasties, it had become the domain ruled by the dynasties of the central plains. This was true no matter whether that dynasty was founded by the Han or other minority nationalities. After the historical boundaries and component nationalities of our country became better defined as the country was finally unified by the Qing rulers, the term "China" was expanded to cover the territory and the nationalities, and the Qing government began for the first time to call our country "China" in its diplomatic transactions. The term "China" did not become the formal name of a modern state until after the founding of the "Republic of China" of "five nationalities" by the 1911 revolution which overthrew the Qing Dynasty. The nature of the state underwent a fundamental change when the People's Republic of China was founded by the Chinese Communist Party after it had led the people of all the nationalities to win the new democratic revolution. The people of all nationalities have become the masters of the state and the term "China" is now the name of a state which belongs to the people of all the nationalities, a scientific concept that reflects the reality of Chinese history.

Having clarified the difference between nationalities and states and the changing connotations since antiquity of "state" and "China," we see quite clearly that to equate the Han nationality or the dynasties of the central plains with historical China is contrary to the historical reality of China. The historical China included not only the Han nationality and the dynasties of the central plains but also all the minority nationalities and their states. The historical territory of China covered not only the areas under the control of the central plains dynasties but also the areas under the control of the states of the minority nationalities outside those dynasties. It is wrong to exclude from China the area controlled by any nationality and its state power.

The demarcation between China and foreign land based on the territorial boundaries of the Han nationality and the central plains dynasties is not only a mistake but also an understatement of the contribution of the minority nationalities to the history of China, and a denial of the political position of the minority nationalities as members of the Chinese nation and masters of the history of China. The history of China was created jointly by the people of all nationalities of the country. The Han nationality, no doubt, is the principal nationality of our country. Their advanced position in all areas helped them play a predominantly leading role in the formation of our country and in its political, economic and cultural development. But those minority nationalities with unique political, economic and cultural qualities have also contributed substantially to the historical development of our fatherland. The role played by the minority nationalities in the formation and development of our unified multinational state, for example, should never be overlooked. When the distant ancestors of the Han nationality founded a state power based on

slavery in the central plains, various other nationalities, including the Man, the Yi, the Rong, and the Di, participated actively in the political struggles of the day. Later, when the Qi, the Chu, the Yan, the Han, the Zhao, the Wei, and the Qin founded the seven small centralized states in the agricultural regions in both north and south China which they had consolidated separately, the eastern Hu and the Huns also established two separate nomadic military states in the grasslands of northern China. The Qin which had subdued the other six states established for first time in the history of our country a unified centralized multinational feudal state. When the Qin and Han Dynasties changed hands, the Huns also defeated the eastern Hu and founded a unified multinational Hun state in the north. Following the footsteps of the Qin, the Han Dynasty consolidated even more territories and nationalities. After prolonged war with the Han Dynasty, the Huns finally submitted to the authority of the Han, unifying the expansive agricultural and nomadic regions, a step forward in achieving a unified multinational state. In spite of subsequent periods of dissension, our country, pressured by the people of all the nationalities, worked persistently to unify more territories and nationalities. As a result, the extent of unification began to grow longer and longer. Unification has been the main thrust in the historical development of our country, during which the minority nationalities have united the border regions and occasionally a large part of China, paving the way for national unification of the whole country. The Mongols who founded the Yuan Dynasty and Manchus who founded the Qing Dynasty did even more to bring about the most extensive unification of the country. As Comrade Mao Zedong has said, the fact is that China could not go it alone without the minority nationalities. "The minority nationalities have helped the whole country and the whole Chinese nation politically, economically and in national defense." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 5 p 154) The minority nationalities which had contributed their share to the founding and the historical development of the fatherland are entitled to enjoy their political position as members of the Chinese nation and the masters of the history of China. The state power they established both within and outside the central plains dynastic regime is by virtue of logic the state power of China.

II

Historically, the minority nationalities and their state power were part and parcel of China as a nation and a state. Even though they and the Han nationality dynasties of the central plains had opposed one another as aliens and Chinese, both were indivisible components of China as a whole, and the distinction between the Chinese and the aliens should not have existed at all. The historical wars between these minority nationalities and the ruling dynasties of the central plains were not wars waged against China by foreign powers. Nor were wars of "aggression" and "antiaggression." "Aggression" and "anti-aggression" are terms used to describe the wars between modern sovereign states which have emerged with the rise of capitalism. The historical wars between the various nationalities of China, like the wars between the kingdoms of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period and those between the Wei, Shu and Wu of the Three Kingdoms, were domestic matters, completely different than the wars waged by China against foreign aggression. "The Marxist principle requires that an analysis of any social problem should be done in its proper historical setting." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 2 p 512)

If we were to apply the modern rules of international relations to the historical wars in ancient China without considering the historical background, the difference between modern and ancient states, and the distinction between the domestic matters and foreign relations of a state, we would misinterpret the impact of time and geography.

To say that the historical wars between the nationalities of China were neither aggression nor antiaggression does not mean to rule out the question of right and wrong on the part of the belligerents. "The failure to distinguish the types of wars is wrong in principle and harmful in practice." ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol 35 p 184) We can apply the historical materialist principle and use the class analysis to pursue factual analysis of the historical wars between the nationalities of China in order to determine whether they were just or unjust, progressive or reactionary and give our approval or disapproval of those wars. Generally speaking, a war of plunder and oppression waged by the ruler of one nationality against another is unjust. A war waged by an oppressed nationality to resist plunder and oppression is just. The wars of rebellion waged by the top level elements of some nationalities to break up the country and to obstruct unity, such as the rebellions of the three vassal leaders and the rebellions by A-mu-er Sana during the Qing Dynasty, were reactionary. The wars waged by the central government to put down rebellions and safeguard unity were progressive in nature. While we must expose and denounce the wars to unify the country launched by the ruling dynasty of any nationality motivated by a desire to exploit and plunder, they deserve historical approval when the outcome of these wars objectively contributed to the development of a unified multi-national state, and the advancement of the national economy and culture. We must also denounce wars among the rulers of different nationalities for the redistribution of wealth and power which seriously disrupted the livelihood of the people, and social production; such as Liu Yuan, a Xiongnu nobleman, who launched a war against the west Jin Dynasty, and then turned against the separatist regimes of the various nationalities in the north after the downfall of the west Jin Dynasty.

The fact that some minority nationalities gained control of the central plains as a result of wars between the nationalities of China is very like the Han nationality emigrating to the border regions or opening up the border regions by any ambitious ruler. It is obviously unjustified to denounce it as a "foreign invasion." The minority and the Han nationalities share a common fatherland and should enjoy equal rights. The Han nationality of inland China are just as entitled to migrate to the frontier regions as the minority nationalities are free to move to the central plains. Moreover, some minority nationalities used to live in the central plains before they migrated, for various reasons, to the frontiers. Take Xiongnu for example. According to Wang Guowei's research, their distant ancestors, known as Guifang, once had their tribal center "between the Qian and Long, or further west" at the time of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties "although their entire domain extended from the northwestern border of the Zhou to the northeast." ("Guantang Jilin" vol 13 "Research on Guifang, Kunyi and Xianyun") According to the findings of this research, the Xiongnu were then in the present day Shaanxi and Shanxi before they migrated both north and south of the big desert. Since they had migrated from the central plains to the frontiers, why couldn't they return from the frontiers to the central

plains? Once they had returned to the central plains, they should not be criticized for establishing a ruling dynasty right there. Since the Han and other minority nationalities are members of the Chinese nation, any qualified nationality may establish a ruling regime in the central plains, although the quality of its rule is an entirely different matter. We cannot be racially biased to favor any one nationality. If we were, which one would we side with since the Han nationality assimilated many minority nationalities during the past several thousand years and has many distant ancestors?

We cannot deny that, historically, the rulers of those minority nationalities which gained control over the central plains inflicted during wartime horrible disasters, brutalities, calamities and sufferings upon the people of the other nationalities and also pursued oppressive and discriminatory policies and even imposed upon the central plains their backward method of production which resulted in severe obstruction and retardation of the social economy as a whole. We must expose and criticize such negative effects. We would betray the historical materialist approach if we were to overlook these negative effects, or deny the right of the other nationalities to resist them. This, however, is only one side of the matter. We must also take a look at the other side. The minority nationalities which gained control over the central plains actually contributed to the unification of China by strengthening the liaison between the frontier regions where they once lived and pushing forth economic and cultural exchanges leading toward the merging of all the nationalities. Moreover, driven by the law of social historical development, these minority nationalities finally abandoned step-by-step their time-honored mode of production but preserved the advanced mode of production of the Han nationality in the central plains. As they worked to adjust themselves to this mode of production and to absorb the Han culture, they began to feudalize and sped up the feudalization of themselves and the frontier regions. All of these had a positive impact on the historical development of China and should be accorded full recognition.

The historical relations of the nationalities of China are so complicated that they must be handled in accordance with the Marxist principle of the equality of nationalities. As Lenin has pointed out: "One who does not recognize and uphold the equality of nationalities," "is not a Marxist or even a democrat." ("Complete Works of Lenin," Vol 20 p 11) As academic and literary workers living in a socialist era committed to the equality of nationalities, we must follow the Marxist principle of the equality of nationalities to deal with the minority nationalities by treating both contemporary and historical minority nationalities as equals and by recognizing without exception both the minority nationalities and the Han nationality as members of the Chinese nation and the masters of the history of China. This is the only way correctly to handle the historical relations of the nationalities of China and to work out an objective appraisal of the historical activities of the minority nationalities.

5360
CSO: 4005/1044

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

BRIEFS

MAN NATIONALITY TROUPE--In accordance with the suggestions of enhancing cultural exchange and unity between nationalities, the Liaoning Song and Dance Ensemble came to Lanzhou to perform the Man Nationality fairy dance drama "Zhen Zhong Hu." In the evening of 9 October, Xiao Hua, (Du Yide), Feng Jixin, Yang Zhilin, Wang Bingxiang, Li Bin, (Lan Tianlin), Li Qiyang and other leaders watched the first performance in the People's Theater. The Man Nationality is a hard working nationality. They are good at assimilating and have created a splendid national culture. They are also rich in national literature and song and dance. "Zhen Zhong Hu" is a drama created by the Liaoning Song and Dance Ensemble according to Han folklore. [Excerpt] [HK120459 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 11 Oct 82]

CORBAN FESTIVITIES--Beijing, 30 Sep (XINHUA)--During the past few days, the people of all nationalities in Xinjiang, Ningxia and Guangzhou celebrated Corban, a traditional Islamic festival, with jubilation. On 29 September, the people of Hui Nationality in Ningxia put on new clothing, gave banquets, and held various sports, literary and art activities to joyously celebrate Corban. Leading comrades of the autonomous region as well as of the party, government and army in various localities joined with cadres and the masses of Han and other fraternal nationalities to hold tea parties and gala meetings. In the afternoon, Li Xuezhi, first secretary of the autonomous regional CPC committee, Ma Qingnian, chairman of the Standing Committee of the regional people's congress, Wang Jinzhang, chairman of the regional CPPCC committee, and other leading comrades separately went to people's communes and production brigades of Hui Nationality in suburban Yinchuan and called on the houses of retired veteran workers of Hui Nationality to extend them holiday greetings. [Excerpts] [OW030148 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1157 GMT 30 Sep 82]

GANSU CLEANUP CAMPAIGN--According to GANGSU RIBAO, on the afternoon of 30 September, Du Yide, commander of the Lanzhou PLA units, and Xiao Hua, first political commissar, led over 3,000 commanders and fighters of leading organs of the Lanzhou PLA units and the units stationed in Lanzhou Municipality to clean up the environment at the Lanzhou railway station, markets, theaters, parks and streets in (Xinghe) and (Nanchang) roads, [words indistinct] and at (Xiaojiawan). They have created a new situation in developing the campaign of five stresses and four points of beauty. Also joining the clean-up activity were leading comrades of the Lanzhou PLA units including (Dong Zhanlin), (Wu Huaheng), Liu Ling and (Cheng Keyun) as well as responsible comrades of organizations in Lanzhou. [Text] [SK020938 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 1 Oct 82]

SHAANXI CONSCRIPTION WORK--According to SHAANXI RIBAO reports, the Shaanxi provincial 1982 winter conscription work has started. The coverage and requirements of the current conscription are as follows: In rural areas, servicemen will be recruited from among youths with a junior secondary educational level or above who belong to families with relatively plentiful manpower; in cities and county towns, servicemen are only recruited from among class of 1982 graduates from senior secondary schools, and no staff members of or workers in administrative organs, enterprises and nonproductive public organizations or students at school will be accepted. The age limit in 1982 for male conscription candidates is 18-19 years old. Those class of 1982 graduates from senior secondary schools who are 17 years of age may also be accepted on a voluntary basis. Servicewomen will also be recruited on a voluntary basis from class of 1982 graduates from senior secondary school who will be 17 or 18 years old in 1982. [Text] [HK050922 Xian Shaanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 0500 GMT 5 Oct 82]

NATIONAL DAY ACTIVITIES--Inspired by the magnificent objective and program of the 12th party congress, people of all nationalities in the region today joyfully took part in celebration activities marking the 33d anniversary of the founding of the PRC. In the morning, Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Ismail Amat, Tomur Dawamat and other leading comrades of the regional CPC committee and people's government celebrated the festival together with the people of all nationalities in Urumqi Municipality. "In the Xinjiang cement factory and the Urumqi nonferrous metal refinery, Comrade Wang Enmao listened to production reports made by leaders of the two factories and visited workers of all nationalities who were on duty on the occasion of the festival. He paid tribute to their achievements in production and encouraged them to make new contributions to creating a new situation in socialist modernization." "In the Urumqi Municipal Telecommunications Bureau, Comrade Gu Jingsheng, in high spirits, made a visit to wire rooms, operation rooms and others. In the telephone room, he asked for truck calls to Kuytum and Shihezi, requesting operators to convey greetings of the regional leading departments to the broad sections of staff and the workers of the two places on the very occasion of the festival." [HK041118 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 1 Oct 82]

CORBAN IN URUMQI--On the afternoon of 30 September, regional party and government leading comrades, including Wang Enmao, Gu Jingsheng, Ismail Amat and Tomur Dawamat, and Urumqi Municipal CPC Committee secretary Liu Sicong, went to the Yanan road residential district in Urumqi to send their season's greetings to the people of minority nationalities and join them in celebrating the Corban festival. Comrade Wang Enmao and other leading comrades visited the homes of some workers, cadres, residents, intellectuals and religious personages including (Shadeer), (Maimaiti) and so on, and carefully inquired of them about their work and living conditions. Every courtyard was full of the cordial atmosphere of unity between the cadres and the masses and between nationalities. On the morning of 30 September, Gu Jingsheng, Huang Luobin and other comrades also went to the July First General Cotton Textile Mill and celebrated the Corban festival with the textile workers of all nationalities. [Text] [HK041120 Urumqi Xinjiang Regional Service in Mandarin 1650 GMT 1 Oct 82]

SPORTS MEET--Beijing, 2 Oct (XINHUA)--Two thousand pigeons were released among warm applause of 70,000 people at three o'clock this afternoon in the Beijing Workers' Stadium to celebrate the closing of the 6th municipal sports meet which opened July 2. During the past three months, 8,000 athletes participated in competitions in 26 events including track-and-field events, swimming, weight-lifting, shooting, ball games, chesses, gymnastics, and martial arts. Three national records were broken. Present on the occasion were Peng Chong, vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, Hu Zi'ang and Qian Changzhao, vice-chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese people's political consultative conference, Duan Junyi, first secretary of the municipal party committee, Jiao Ruoyu, mayor of Beijing, Xu Yinseng, vice-minister of the State Physical Culture and Sports Commission and Zhong Shitong, chairman of the All-China Sports Federation. Comrade Hoang Van Hoan was also present.
[Excerpts] [OW021258 Beijing XINHUA in English 1244 GMT 2 Oct 82]

CSO: 4000/7

END